DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 173 242 SO 011 804

AUTHOR Kleg, Milton; And Others

TITLE Race, Caste, and Prejudice [And] Student Handbook to Race, Caste, and Prejudice. Publications No. 70-2 and 70-4.

INSTITUTION Georgia Univ., Athens. Anthropology Curriculum Project.

SPONS AGENCY Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C. Cooperative Research Program.
PUB DATE Nov 70
NOTE 287p.; For related documents, see SO 011 790
AVAILABLE FROM Anthropology Curriculum Project, 107 Dudley Hall, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia 30602 (Prices are available through project)

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS *Anthropology; Beliefs; Bias; Changing Attitudes; Concept Formation; Concept Teaching; *Cultural Factors; *Culture; Discriminatory Attitudes (Social); Ethnic Groups; Instructional Materials; *Learning Activities; Negative Attitudes; *Racial Attitudes; Secondary Education; *Social Attitudes; Social Problems; Social Studies; Social Studies Units; Stereotypes; Teaching Methods; Typology
IDENTIFIERS Anthropology Curriculum Project

ABSTRACT

The regional and historical overview of race, caste, and prejudice is one of the units in the Anthropology Curriculum Project series. The major objective of the unit is to focus attention on discriminatory practices which grow out of physical differences and cultural attitudes. The document consists of teacher background materials and a student handbook. The teacher text is presented in three chapters. Chapter I defines race and explores the relationship between race and prejudice. Chapter II discusses social class and caste. Topics discussed include social status in open and closed societies, social stratification in different cultures (Japan, India, Europe, and the United States), and the effect of class on life chances. Chapter III relates prejudice to ethnocentrism and presents case studies of prejudice against religious, ethnic, and racial groups including blacks in the United States, Mormons, Jews, Chinese in Indonesia and Malaysia, Indians in Africa, and the Ibo in Nigeria. The student handbook is organized into four main categories--activities, recall questions, discussion questions, and a glossary with a suggested reading guide for the text. Activities involve students in interviewing community members, role playing, analyzing newspaper and magazine articles, analyzing hate literature, investigating prejudice in employment and housing, and working with peers of another ethnic group. (DB)

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RACE, CASTE, AND PREJUDICE

by

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Publication No. 70-2
Anthropology Curriculum Project
University of Georgia
November 1970

SO 011 804

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TO THE STUDENT

It was a warm night in the spring of 1967. The day had been long, talking with teachers who had taught units in anthropology. Some graduate students, a few staff members, and our consultants in anthropology lingered over cokes in the courtyard of the Georgia Center for Continuing Education. All were white.

The conversation somehow turned to segregated housing. Were anthropologists as a group more free of prejudice than other people? Some said "Yes, a knowledge of anthropology makes people have greater respect for each other." Others said, "No, anthropologists are no more liberal than educated people of a similar class." There was no evidence; just opinion.

Does a knowledge of anthropology change beliefs? Does a change of beliefs lead to a change in behavior? We don't really know, but we assume that it does.

We began to look at what we were doing in our anthropology units. There was nothing wrong with the scientific content. It accurately reflected the science of anthropology. But somehow it seemed far away from some of the issues of the American scene, although we constantly used American culture as a reference point.

We therefore projected a supplementary series: The American Minority Ethnic Series. One of these units was to be a general world survey of race, caste, and prejudice. There would also be units on the American Negro, American Indian, and Spanish-speaking Americans.

This unit, Race, Caste, and Prejudice, is divided into three chapters. One deals with race, one with caste, and the third with prejudice. These all get intertwined together, but dividing them up gives a way of looking at them.

Running through each chapter are some common questions. The first is: What is race? What is caste? What is prejudice? The beginning of knowledge is description. So each chapter has a lot of descriptive material in it. The first chapter on Race goes in pretty heavily for classification. If you have a biology book handy, you might want to see what the biologist writes about race. We were tempted to say a good bit about genetics, but we had to

draw a line somewhere.

A second question concerns effects. What happens as a result of race, of caste, of prejudice? The unit does not provide all the answers, but it will help you become more alert to race, caste, and prejudice--in your school, in your neighborhood, as well as in reports in newspapers and magazines.

A third question is asked but not answered. What are we going to do about race, caste, and prejudice in the United States? Only you, in your individual actions, can answer that question.

Marion J. Rice
Wilfrid C. Bailey,
Co-Directors

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. RACE 1

Awareness of Physical Differences 1
Development of Race as a Biological Concept 2
Typological and Geographical Classification 6
Typological Classification 7
Geographical Classification 11
Inexactness of Classifications 14
Hybrid Races 17
Summary 19
The Popular Social Concept of Race 23
Popular Definitions of Race 24
Practical Definitions of Race 25
Origins of the Popular Social Concept of Race 26
Cultural Development and Conquest 26
Slavery 26
Social Darwinism 27
Anthropological Practices 29
Association as Causal Explanation 30
Christian Missionary Activity 30
A UNESCO Statement on Race and Prejudice 31
Why Do Misconceptions Persist? 31
The Tactics of Racists 31
Pseudo-science 32
Appeal to Authority 36
Scapegoating 36
The Problems of Unconscious Prejudice 38
Labeling 38
Stereotyping 39
Summary 39

II. SOCIAL CLASS AND CASTE 41

Introduction 41
Social Stratification 41
Social Status 41
Open and Closed Societies 42

Barriers to Social Mobility 43
Attempts to Minimize Class Differences 43
Summary 45
Determining Social Status 45
The People of Gopalpur 45
The Chinook and Potlatch 46
The Ibo in Africa 46
Social Status in the U.S.A. 47
Social Stratification in Folk Cultures 47
Classless Societies 47
The Arunta 48
The Yahgan 48
Summary 49
Class Societies 49
Somali 52
Rwanda 52
Tahitians 53
Summary 53
The Caste System in Two Large Cultures 54
The Continuation of a Caste Tradition: India 54
Change from Caste to Class 56
Japan 56
Europe 57
Summary 57
Class and Caste in the U.S.A. 58
General Classification 58
How Status is Determined 63
The Middle Class Stereotype 63
Socio-Economic Status 64
Occupation 64
Education 65
Other Factors Related to Social Class Status 68
Family Background 68
Racial and Religious Prejudice 68
The Effect of Class on Life Chances 71
Health and Survival 72
Living Conditions 78
Crime, Law, and Civil Rights 80
Education 81
Summary 82
Social Class and Life Style 82
Social Class and Political Participation 83
The Power Elite 83
Social Mobility and Class Barriers 86
Negroes--an American Caste? 87
Summary 90

III. PREJUDICE AND ETHNOCENTRISM 91

What is Prejudice? 91
Overgeneralizing 91
Stereotyping 92
How Does Prejudice Originate? 93
Prejudice is Learned 93
Prejudice is Reinforced 94
Ethnocentrism Fosters Prejudice 94
The Concept of In-Groups 95
Chauvinism 96
How Ethnocentrism is Learned 97
Ethnocentrism in Times of War 98
Extent and Intensity of Prejudice 100
Predilection and Prejudice 100
Discrimination 102
Scapegoating 103
Motives for Scapegoating 104
Types of Scapegoaters 105
Tactics of Scapegoaters 107
The Victim of Scapegoating 107
Responses of the Victim 108
Summary 109
Examples of Racial Prejudice 109
Blacks in the United States 109
The Coloured Population in England 112
The Chinese in Indonesia 115
The Chinese in Malaysia 117
Indians in Africa 118
Examples of Religious Prejudice 119
The Jews and Anti-Semitism 120
Mormons in the United States 122
Catholics versus Protestants in Northern Ireland 124
Other Examples of Religious Prejudice 125
Examples of Ethnocentrism 127
The Ibo in Nigeria 127
Tribalism in Kenya 128
Cyprus, Belgium, and Canada 128
Serbs versus Albanians in Kossovo 129
How are Prejudice and Ethnocentrism Modified 130
Enculturation 130
Education 131
Cultural Change 131
Conclusion 132

APPENDIX A
Statement on Race and Racial Prejudice 133

APPENDIX B
The Status System of a Texas Panhandle Community 138

APPENDIX C
Cases of Prejudice and Discrimination as Reported by
a State Commission on Human Rights 144

APPENDIX D
A Catechism on Race and Racial Prejudice 149

APPENDIX E
Bibliography 156

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1A
Percentage of Aggregate Income Received by Families, 1947 and 1967 60

FIGURE 1B
Percentage of Aggregate Income Received by the Lower Three-Fifths and Upper Two-Fifths of Families, 1947 and 1967 61

FIGURE 1C
Socio-Economic Continuum Based on Family Income in 1965 62

FIGURE 2
The Effect of Education on Income for White Jobholders, 1959 66

FIGURE 3
The Effect of Education on Income of Whites and Nonwhites Employed in 1968 67

FIGURE 4
Percentage Distribution of Families by Income, Years of School Completed, and Color of Head, 1967 69

FIGURE 5
Median Income of Families by Years of School Completed and Color of Head, 1967. 70

FIGURE 6
Poor Persons, Number and Percent in 1967 73

FIGURE 7
Characteristics of the 12.5 Million Poor Children in the U.S. 74

FIGURE 8
Infant Death Rates by Color, From 1940 to 1967 75

FIGURE 9
Sample of Korean War Casualties and Income Group 76

FIGURE 10
Life Expectancy at Birth, by Race and Sex, 1950 to 1967 77

FIGURE 11
Nonwhite Housing Conditions in the U.S.A. in 1960
Puerto Rican Housing Conditions in New York in 1960 78

FIGURE 12
Selected Characteristics of Male High School Graduates
and Dropouts, 1968 79

FIGURE 13
Social Correlates of Political Involvement 84

FIGURE 14
Some Demographic Correlates of a Sense of Political Efficacy 85

FIGURE 15
Caste/Class Structures of the United States 87

RACE

The word race is one of the most misunderstood and explosive words in any language--so much so that one anthropologist, Ashley Montagu, has suggested that it be eliminated from the language. It tends to trigger irrational and emotional behavior that is based, in most instances, on insufficient or untrue information.

On the other hand, there are variations in the physical appearance of people in different parts of the world. Some anthropologists find it useful to use either typological (categories based on type) or geographical (categories based on location) classifications to refer to the biological differences among people.

Because misunderstandings about race have often led to violence and bloodshed, it is important to define the concept of race clearly and to examine its effect on people's behavior. The concept of race is of particular importance in the United States today where there is a growing consciousness of differential treatment of minority groups. Many of the larger and poorer minority groups have been the object of systematic discrimination because of their race.

Physical differences have been and continue to be the basis of different social treatment. Because of skin color and other biological traits, Americans have not had the same opportunities for schooling, housing, and job opportunities. This chapter therefore, examines race as a scientific and as a social concept.

Awareness of Physical Differences

From time immemorial, groups of men have been aware of the physical and cultural differences which set them apart from other men. Group names and creation stories alike have emphasized such differences. Thus, when the Cheyenne of the Western Plains referred to themselves, their name emphasized their unique self-perception. Cheyenne means simply "the people." The name of the isolated Yahgan of South America and of certain Papuan groups likewise means "the people."

Self-praising group names are an important means of identification, emphasizing ties of kinship, marriage, and common blood. In such ways, however, the sense of ingroup identity emerges, from which it is an easy step to view all other groups as outsiders. In fact, are they not outsiders--those who do not look, speak, or behave as we do? It is not surprising then to see why Greeks and Romans of the ancient world regarded other peoples as barbarians, even though ancestors of some "barbarians" had built great cities and empires long before there was a Greece or Rome.

Creation stories frequently describe a creator god forming man from primordial mud. The Indian tribe Yaqui of the American Southwest and Mexico made explicit a physical standard based on color. According to these Indians, their god formed man from clay and placed him in the oven to harden. Alas, upon removing the clay the god found that man was not yet finished; he was too light. On the second attempt, the god left the clay in the oven too long; man was too black. The third attempt was successful. Out came the brown, just right Indian color. The physical characteristics of the dominant group are those which are generally singled out in a culture for approval.

In the western world, the creation stories of Genesis gave a theological rationale for regarding mankind as one. The period of exploration and conquest beginning in the 1500s brought Europeans into wider contact with men of different physique and cultures. The increased consciousness of physical and cultural differences also coincided with the rise of the scientific movement in Europe.

In the eighteenth century, application of the principles of scientific observation and description led to a vast extension in information about the flora (plant life) and fauna (animal life) of the world. To organize this information into a systematic body of knowledge required systematic categories of thought. Applying Aristotelian principles of classification according to similarities and differences, the science of biology made tremendous strides. With new information about places, peoples, and cultures gleaned from the reports of explorers and travelers, it was inevitable that scientists would also place man in a classificatory system.

Development of Race as a Biological Concept

One of the early classifications of people was by the famous Swedish botanist Linnaeus, founder of the binomial system of classification of plants and animals. In a four-fold 1738 classification, Linnaeus classified people in the following groups:

1. Europaeus albus: "lively, light, inventive, and ruled by rites."

2. Americanus rubesceus: "tenacious, contented, free, and ruled by custom."

3. Asiaticus luridus: "stern, haughty, stingy, ruled by opinion."

4. Afer niger: "cunning, slow, negligent, and ruled by caprice."[1]

In this classification, he combined color with place and ascribed certain behavioral traits to each group, which is an example of early non-scientific stereotyping.

The term race was probably first introduced by Comte de Buffon in his Natural History, volumes of which began to appear in 1749. Buffon used the word race to describe and compare different groups of humans based on the accounts of travelers and explorers. Race was used merely as a descriptive category to simplify the presentation of data about different people. He did not attempt to classify man into sub-groups. Buffon adhered to the view that man belonged to one species. Notwithstanding the fact that Buffon's work antedated Darwin's explanation of evolution and the rise of the science of genetics, Buffon's explanation of racial variation is nevertheless remarkably perceptive. According to Buffon:

> . . . there was originally only one species, who, after multiplying and spreading over the whole surface of the earth, have undergone various changes by the influence of climate, food, mode of living, epidemic diseases, and the mixture of dissimilar individuals; that, at first, these changes were not so conspicuous, and produced individual varieties; that these varieties became afterwards specific because they were rendered more general, more strongly marked and more permanent by the continuation of the same causes; that they are transmitted from generation to generation--and that, lastly, as they were originally produced by a train of external and accidental causes, it is probable that they will gradually disappear or at least . . . differ from what they are at present, if the causes which produced them should cease or if their operation should be varied by other circumstances and combinations.[2]

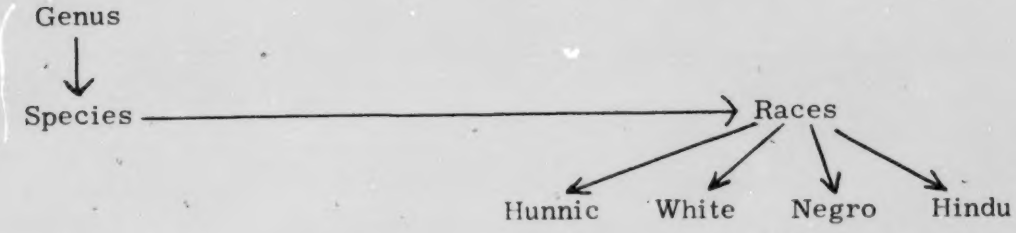
---

[1]Jacques Barzun, Race: A Study in Superstition, rev. ed. (New York: Harper & Row and Co., 1965), p. 45.

[2]Comte de Buffon, "A Natural History, General and Particular," in This is Race: An Anthology Selected from the International Literature on the Races of Man, ed. Earl W. Count (New York: Henry Schuman, 1950), p. 15.

In 1775, Immanuel Kant, a German philosopher of great stature, divided mankind into four races: Hunnic, White, Negro, and Hindu.[3] He reasoned that all races are derived from an original stem genus, and that races had changed in appearance because of environmental and related causes. As with Linnaeus, Kant could not escape his white European background. While he had no evidence on which to base his description of the appearance of original man, he described him as white skinned and brunette. Philosopher and tribesman, Kant and Yaqui, were both trapped in their own in-group sentiment.

Kant's View of Mankind



The founder of modern physical anthropology was Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, a German physiologist. Many early classifications of people failed to distinguish between physical and cultural characteristics and leaned heavily on the concepts of original types with little emphasis on human variability. Blumenbach, as early as 1775, noted that the "innumerable varieties of mankind run into each other by insensible degrees." This point is emphasized by modern physical anthropologists who, like Blumenbach, regard any system of racial classification as merely a means of making the study of mankind more convenient. Blumenbach's taxonomy became the most popular of the many classifications which were proposed. (See Blumenbach's Taxonomy, next page.)

Anthropological research during the nineteenth century accepted the theory of the "missing link," an idea which was more profitable to circus sideshows than to scientific research. The attempt to fill in the gap between the anthropoids and modern man led to anthropological research practices which unwittingly contributed to many of the popular misconceptions of race

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[3]Immanuel Kant, "On the Different Races of Man," in Count, This is Race, pp. 17, 23.

Blumenbach's Taxonomy[4]

Race	Skin Color	Head Shape	Hair
Caucasian	white, rose cheeks	oval	brown, chestnut
Mongolian	yellow	square	black
Ethiopian	black	narrow	wooly black
Malay	tawny	narrow	black, soft
American	copper	narrow (varies)	black, stiff

today. One of the practices was that of ranking mankind into a hierarchical order. The other was that of comparing individual races to contemporary apes for functional purposes. But physical anthropology was still in its infancy. There was still no record of fossil man, the idea of evolution was slowly being accepted, and there was no knowledge of genetics. Racial classifications continued to rely on a limited number of phenotype differences.

The twentieth century brought a tremendous advance in the science of physical anthropology and new evidence for a better understanding of racial classifications. The first development was the rediscovery of Mendel's two genetic principles by several investigators. This permitted the development of the science of genetics and the application to racial studies of such ideas as breeding population, genetic equilibrium, genetic drift, mutation, and the gene frequency method of differentiating populations.[5] The concept of straight line evolution was modified and the idea of the missing link discarded.

A second significant development was K. Landsteiner's discovery of the ABO blood groups and their varying distribution in different populations.

[4] Johann Frederick Blumenbach, "On the Natural Variety of Mankind," in Count, This is Race, pp. 34-38.

[5] A simplified but technical discussion of the modern synthetic explanation of evolution is given in Old World Prehistory, Anthropology Curriculum Project (Athens: University of Georgia, 1966), pp. 21-35.

The discovery of other biochemical traits, such as abnormal hemoglobins, haptoglobins, and antigens, permitted further refinements in the study of population distributions. Biochemical classifications have not replaced older structural classifications. But together with genetic theory, new fossil finds, and the application of statistical methods to population analysis, biochemical research has helped to show that racial classifications based on assumptions of a racial type are primarily pre-Darwinian.

Classification of populations by racial categories is merely a system of biological classification. The two types of biological classification used today are typological and geographical.

Typological and Geographical Classification

The scientific name of man is Homo sapiens, according to the binomial system of classification which gives both the genus and species names. Both typological and geographical classifications begin with the fact that man constitutes a single species, sapiens. All the modern races of man are interfertile; they can interbreed and produce offspring. However, the species is polytypic; there are many different types or varieties in the same species. Unlike other animals, which are restricted in their present distribution to one of the six biographic realms, man is found in every kind of ecological environment. Notwithstanding the differences which developed in man, these differences never differentiated into separate species.

Typological classification reflects the original emphasis on morphological classification. Morphology refers to the structure of the organism, and this type of classification naturally preceded later classification schemes based on biochemistry and genetics. The fact that there is a considerable concurrence in typological description with structural and biochemical classification simply reflects the fact that both methods describe common breeding populations separated by culture and geography. While typological classification has abandoned the concept of certain pure races from which mixed or composite races are derived, the case for typological classification still rests upon the statistical delineation of an ideal racial type.

Geographical classification does not abandon descriptions of human variability, but it simply examines the physical characteristics of a population in a given area. Physical transfer of populations from one area to another provides the basis for a change in the composition of the breeding population. This allows for the emergence of new local races as a result of hybridization. The migration of Europeans to almost all parts of the world and of Africans to the Western Hemisphere brought new populations into

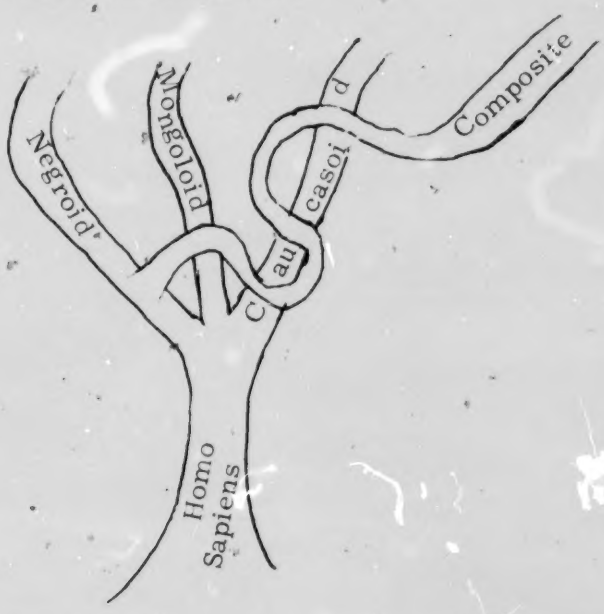
contact with each other.

Nomenclature for typological and geographical classification often overlaps so much that it is sometimes difficult for the reader to distinguish between the two systems being used. Both typological and geographical classification distinguishes between the phenotype and the genotype.

Phenotypically a race may be defined as a population whose members share certain morphologic and physiologic traits because of common descent, though varying individually. When we talk about phenotype, we are talking about physical structure we can actually see. When we talk about genotype, we are talking about the characteristics which are carried in the genes. Genetically a race may be defined as a population which differs from other populations with respect to the frequency of one or more genes. Thus far, genetic racial classification is still restricted to blood groups.

Typological Classification

Early typological classification assumed the existence of three major races--Caucasoid, Mongoloid, and Negroid--and the emergence of variants from these types as the result of hybridization. A schematic representation of this approach is given in the illustration:[6]



[6] Adapted from Ethel J. Alpenfels, Sense and Nonsense About Race (New York: Friendship Press, 1946), pp. 24-25.

There is no agreement on the number of subdivisions and each list varies with the author. A partial classification according to morphological typology is given below. It is adapted from a well-known college text in biology.[7]

Typological Classes	Original Geographic Distribution
Caucasoid	
Mediterranean	Gibraltar to Caspian Sea & Indian Ocean
Nordic	Northern Europe
Alpine	Southern Europe to Pamir Mountains in Asia
Composite Caucasoid	
Armenoid	Turkey, Syria, Palestine
Dinaric	Yugoslavia, Asia, Asia Minor
Negroid	
African Negroid	Africa
Oceanic Negroid (Melanesian)	Melanesia
Negritos	Congo, Malaya, New Guinea, Andaman Islands
Tasmanians	Tasmania (extinct)
Bushmen	South Africa
Hottentot	South Africa
Mongoloid	
Classic Mongoloid	Mongolia, Eastern Siberia
Eskimos	Arctic
Composite Mongoloid	
Indonesians	S. E. Asia and Malay Archipelago
American Indian	Western Hemisphere
Splinter races	
(not included in main groups or resulting from hybridization)	
Ainus	Northern Japan
Veddoids	India and East Indies
Australoids	Australia

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[7] Claude A. Villee, Biology (3rd ed., Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders, 1958).

Criteria for typological classification include:

1. Physical features only, or physical characteristics such as blood types.
2. Hereditability of structural variations.
3. Multiple criteria; no single trait may be employed.
4. Classifications representative of population sample.
5. Age and sex held constant for comparative purposes.[8]

As previously noted, restriction of classificatory criteria to genotypes is not yet possible. Thus far only a few blood types have been identified genotypically.

The superficial observation of a few traits, such as skin color, hair, and facial appearance, has now given way to multiple measurements and indices. Here is a list of some factors now used in making typological observations. The physical factors used in typological classification are also used by anthropologists in studying variation by geographical distribution.

1. Cranial vault
   a. Capacity--size of brain
   b. Cephalic index--ratio of length to width; degree of long or round-headedness
   c. Cranial height--from ear opening to highest point of skull
   d. Slope and width of forehead
   e. Thickness of the bones of the cranium
   f. Size of supraorbital ridges--brow ridges on the forehead
   g. Position of foramen magnum--hole in base of skull for spinal cord

2. Face and Lower Jaw
   a. Facial index--facial width and length
   b. Shape of malar bones--cheek
   c. Prognathism--forward projection of face
   d. Degree of chin development

3. Nose
   a. Nasal index--proportion of width to length
   b. Height of nasal root and bridge
   c. Other features, such as cartilage, septum, fleshy wings, and nostrils

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[8]Ralph L. Beals and Harry Hoijer, An Introduction to Anthropology (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1965), pp. 173-174.

4. Eye form

5. Lip
   a. Size and thickness of membranous lip
   b. Amount of protrusion
   c. Degree of inversion

6. Ear
   a. Size and shape
   b. Helix--rim development
   c. Lobe development

7. Pigmentation
   a. Skin color--melanin
   b. Hair color
   c. Eye color

8. Hair
   a. Head
      (1) Form--straight to wooly
      (2) Texture--fine or coarse
      (3) Strand length
   b. Amount of body hair

9. Body
   a. Stature
   b. Weight
   c. Pelvis
   d. Arm and leg length
   e. Torso

10. Blood groups and other chemical factors
   a. Four group system; A, B, O, AB
   b. Diego factor
   c. Rhesus factor[9]

A strictly typological approach has now been abandoned by anthropologists. Some of the absurdities of the typological approach are apparent when it is recalled that one of the fundamental assumptions of typological classification is the existence of three main races and that other races result from hybridization, or racial interbreeding. Typologists have found it difficult to

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[9]Beals and Hoijer, Introduction to Anthropology, pp. 174-199.

find a place in their system for such groups as the Australoids and the Veddoids but, at the same time, have not hesitated to explain their origin by hybridization. Of what scientific value is the statement that the Veddoids resemble in some ways the Caucasoids and in some ways the Australoids, but their true origin is unknown? But the typologist then goes on to explain the existence of the darker Caucasoids of India as an intermixture of Mediterraneans with Veddoids.

But the ultimate absurdity has been the fantasies associated with a Nordic race. The Nordic was allegedly a "pure" European type--long-headed, blue eyed, and light-haired. At the same time, pure Nordic parents produced offspring that were assigned to other racial types, such as Mediterranean and Alpine, because phenotype does not express all the chance variations of genotype.

As every high school student knows today, the actual physical characteristics of offspring are not determined by the physical appearance of parents, but by the genes carried by parents. On fertilization, a new cell is formed which gets half of its genes from each parent. The chance pairing of these genes rather than the appearance of the parents determines the characteristics of offspring.

Another difficulty of typological classification is the need to assume some kind of relationship between all groups of a race, irrespective of their location. This not only raises problems of explaining geographical distribution, as with the Negritos, but also cannot take full advantage of genetic theory and falls back on a rationale of race formation from interbreeding. Typological classification still lingers, but in spirit it is both pre-Darwinian and pre-Mendelian in its scientific outlook. For this reason, many anthropologists today prefer a system of geographical classification.

Geographical Classification

Classification of populations by geographical location does not abandon the concept of race or the idea that there are trait differences among people. Race, as a term, simply implies variety. The substitution of any other term would not remove the semantic difficulty.

The geographical approach to trait differences simply makes the assumption that the people of a particular area have certain physical characteristics as a result of gene frequency, gene flow, and the breeding habits of a population. Geographical classification also agrees with typological classification in recognizing the existence of three major groups of people--Caucasoid, Mongoloid, and Negroid--which correspond to the three geographic

groups of Europe, Asia, and Africa south of the Sahara. It does not try to explain the existence of sub-groups, however, on the basis of mixture of the three primary races. As with typological classes, there is no agreement as to the number of categories to which geographical races may be assigned.

The three levels of geographical classification are continental, local, and micro-race. Geographical classification is based on our historical knowledge of race distribution circa 1500. Since that time, two continental groups, European and African, have become widely dispersed. In addition to Europe, people of this stock are now the majority race in the Western Hemisphere, as well as in Australia and New Zealand, and are found dispersed in pockets over the rest of the world. Africans are found in large numbers in the United States and Brazil. Small numbers of Asiatics have migrated to Europe, Africa, and the Western Hemisphere.

Continental races, as the name implies, were confined by the major barriers to human migration in a pre-industrial world. Mountains, oceans, and deserts prevented gene flow in particular directions. The migration of races within the period of our historical knowledge has led to the emergence of hybrid populations as a result of the interbreeding of populations. It is probable that contemporary races originated in this manner, and that the fixing of certain dominant traits resulted from geographic isolation.

Continental and island classifications correspond in the main to typological classification, as follows:[10]

Continental	Typological
Euro-Mediterranean	Caucasoid
African, south of Sahara	Negroid
Indian	Mediterranean Caucasoid
Amerind	American Indian Mongoloid
North Asiatic	Mongoloid
Southeast Asiatic	Malay-Indonesian
Australian	Australoid
Pacific Island	
Micronesian	Derived Caucasoid
Melanesian	Oceanic Negroid
Polynesian	Derived Caucasoid

[10]Synthesized from Beals and Hoijer, Introduction to Anthropology, and Stanley M. Garn, Human Races, (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, Publishers, 1961).

There is considerable physical variation in the populations found in these continental areas, notwithstanding general similarity in physical traits. A continental race is therefore made up of a series of local races. The following list gives some of the major local races:[11]

Euro-Mediterranean
- Northwest European
- Northeast European
- Alpine
- Mediterranean
- Iranian
- Lapp

African
- West African and Congo (Forest Negro)
- East African
- Sudanese
- Bantu
- Bushmen
- Hottentot
- African Pygmies
- Nilotic

Amerind (American Indian)
- Eskimo
- North American
- Central American
- South American

North Asiatic
- Siberian-Mongol Asiatic
- Turkic
- Tibetan
- North Chinese

Southeast Asiatic
- South Chinese
- Malay

Indian
- Dravidian
- Hindu
- Vedda

A third level of geographic classification is micro-race. Micro-races tend to conform to actual breeding populations, because the members of a group tend to marry exclusively within the group. This may result from endogamy (a cultural practice which requires a man to marry within his group) or isolation. The Hopi, an American Indian tribe of the Southwest, is a micro-race because of in-tribal marriage, notwithstanding the fact that it has for centuries been surrounded by the numerically larger Navajo. The Negritos of the Andaman Island in the Bay of Bengal, on the other hand, are a geographically isolated population. The Andaman cultural practice of killing people who were shipwrecked on the islands also preserved genetic isolation.

Classification of human populations by geographical races does not require connecting each group to the three major groups of European (Caucasoid), Asiatic (Mongoloid), or African (Negroid). The basic premises

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[11] Garn, Human Races, pp. 127-132.

of geographical classification are:

1. There are different human populations in the world.

2. These populations have physical traits different from other groups.

3. Groups are separated by physical or social barriers.

4. As a result of physical or social separation, there is little or no gene flow between different groups.

5. Consequently, the gene pool of each group differs from the other.

6. Since the gene pool of the various groups represents only part of the total combination of gene pools in the total human population, geographic populations have somewhat different dominant physical traits.[12]

Inexactness of Classifications

Irrespective of the method of classification used, typological or geographical, racial classification is not a simple process. This results from the fact that the physical characteristics of the species Homo sapiens constitute a continuum. Any selection of traits which are regarded as either representative of a population (typological) or descriptive of the majority of the population (geographical) are abstractions from the total sample of human population. Classification by any scheme is therefore, at best, somewhat arbitrary and relative. Although it is recognized that there is much variation among mankind, scientists have not yet found a completely logical and satisfactory way of classifying variations into racial groups.

The problems of classification are illustrated in the following examples of three geographical groups--European, Asiatic, and African. In this oversimplified comparison, differentiating traits are held constant to compare two local races of each geographic group. It will be seen that there are major differences between local races within a larger continental race. The comparative charts also show that geographical and typological classifications differ primarily in starting point of view. There are no major

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[12]Garn, Human Races.

classificatory differences.[13]

AFRICAN

	Forest Negro	Nilotic Negro
Head shape:	Long	Long
Face projection:	Marked	Little or none
Lips:	Thick, everted	Thick, everted
Eye color:	Dark brown to black	Black
Hair color:	Black	Black
Hair form:	Wooly	Wooly
Skin color:	Dark brown to black	Very black to dark brown
Stature:	Medium	Tall
Torso:	Broad and heavy	Slender

[13] Beals and Hoijer, Introduction to Anthropology, pp. 218-224.

ASIATIC

	North Asiatic	Indonesian-Malay
Head shape:	Round	Medium to round
Face projection:	Medium	None
Lips:	Medium	Medium
Eye color:	Brown to dark	Dark brown
Hair color:	Black	Black
Hair form:	Straight	Straight with some wavy variants
Skin color:	Yellow	Brown
Stature:	Short	Short
Torso:	Long, heavy, broad	Long, broad

EUROPEAN

	Mediterranean	Northwestern
Head shape:	Long	Medium
Face projection:	None	None
Lips:	Medium	Medium to thin
Eye color:	Light to dark brown	Blue, gray, hazel
Hair color:	Dark brown to black	Blond, yellow, light brown
Hair form:	Wavy or curly	Straight or wavy
Skin color:	Olive to brown	White, ruddy
Stature:	Short	Medium
Torso:	Slender, medium	Slender, short

Hybrid Races

As indicated previously, all mankind shares a common gene pool, but in the course of human development certain groups became so isolated that they came to constitute separate breeding populations with certain dominant gene characteristics. While it is impossible to reconstruct the history of gene flow, it is possible, from our knowledge of historical peoples, to indicate the emergence of certain mixed or hybrid populations.

New environmental and cultural conditions have permitted the genetic potential to manifest itself in different ways, and often there is an increased size and vigor with the emergence of different phenotypes. Some of these larger hybrid groups are: Euroamericans in the United States, South America and Canada; Euroafricans of the United States, South America and South Africa; and Ladinos of Central and South America and the Caribbean. This hybridization resulted from the migration of European and African populations to the Western Hemisphere, and European to South Africa.

Euroamerican is a term used to designate the fusion of diverse elements of European origin in the Western Hemisphere. The European continental group is composed of several local populations. Transposed to the new world, local populations of Northwestern, Northeastern, Alpine and Mediterranean origin were brought into proximity where they could interbreed. As a result, both in North America and South America, populations of European origin are essentially hybrid populations, except in isolated areas, such as the Appalachians, where the physical characteristics of the early Northwestern European settler are still apparent.

The Euroafrican group is a population which results from the interbreeding of European and African stocks. Euroafricans are found primarily in the United States, Brazil, and South Africa. This population in South Africa has a distinctive legal status as "Cape Coloured." In the United States, except where Euroafricans "pass" as whites, they have been legally and culturally regarded as Negroes.

Estimates vary of the percentage of European genes in the African gene pool in the United States, but they may constitute 30 percent or more. Euroafricans are genetically different from Africans but are culturally identified with Africans because of racial discrimination. The practical effect of a Euroafrican group is to significantly change the gene pool of the African (Negro) population in the United States. Social barriers, rather than geographic isolation, contribute to the continued separation of European and African groups in the United States (see Chapter II, "Class and Caste"). In Brazil, class rather than physical differences are more important in determining whether a Euroafrican is accepted as a European or as an African.

In parts of the Spanish-speaking countries of the Western Hemisphere, there was a dense Amerind population of village agriculturalists. As a result, there have been two types of hybridization: Afroamerinds are hybrid African-Indian populations; Euroamerinds are hybrid European-Indian populations. These local, mixed populations are variously known as Ladino, Chola, or Mestizo. In some places, as in Argentina, the African immigrant population mixed so completely with the Amerind population that there is no longer any trace of an African population. At one time, the number of Africans in Argentina exceeded the number of Europeans.

The largest amount of hybridization, however, occurred between Europeans and Amerinds. In many of the Spanish-speaking countries, the bulk of the population is hybrid Euroamerind. On the basis of physical characteristics, it is difficult to distinguish this population. Generally, cultural indices are used. If the individual speaks Spanish, wears European dress, and identifies himself with European culture, he is normally classified as European. If the individual speaks an Amerind dialect, wears Amerind dress, and identifies himself with Amerind culture, he is classified as Amerind.

The problem of classification in the hybrid populations of the Americas emphasizes the problem of racial classification throughout the world on the basis of biological characteristics. So often some linguistic or other cultural criterion is used. This practice is the very negation of the principle that racial characteristics are purely biological. An example is the use of the term Hindu, the name of a religion, to identify an Indian local race.

The fiftieth state of the Union, Hawaii, has a hybrid population formed by the crossing of three racial elements--Polynesian, European, and Asiatic. The Eurasian population of Hawaii constitutes as useful a group of creative, productive, and law-abiding citizens as found in states with a dominantly European population. Disadvantages which result from hybridization are not biological but result from social discrimination. Disadvantaged racial groups are created by the value norms of the culture and the social treatment accorded the child and the parents, not by gene flow.

Awareness of the emergence of historical hybrid populations is important to an understanding of race in several ways. Hybridization demonstrates how new races may emerge, and the interplay of factors--geographic and social--which affect the gene flow. The cultural perception of hybridization, as in the United States, emphasizes how social barriers are erected which interfere with gene flow.

Summary

The discussion of racial classification may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. Human variability constitutes a continuum. Irrespective of the classification system used, whether typological or geographical, there is no agreement as to the taxonomy.

2. Racial designations are merely convenient labels for discussing and comparing physical similarities and differences among populations.

3. These classifications do not imply any kind of biological or cultural hierarchy, and are frequently arbitrary.

Because of the many misunderstandings about race as a biological concept, a group of scientists in 1964 met under the auspices of the United Nations Scientific and Cultural Organization to prepare a statement on race. This statement repeats and emphasizes many of the points made in the preceding sections. Because of its general significance, the statement is reprinted in detail.

Biological Aspects of Race[14]

1. All men living today belong to a single species, Homo sapiens, and are derived from a common stock. There are differences of opinion regarding how and when different human groups diverged from this common stock.

2. Biological differences between human beings are due to differences in hereditary constitution and to the influence of the environment on this genetic potential. In most cases, those differences are due to the interaction of these two sets of factors.

3. There is great genetic diversity within all human populations. Pure races--in the sense of genetically homogeneous populations--do not exist in the human species.

4. There are obvious physical differences between populations

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[14] From "Race and Prejudice," Reprinted from The Unesco Courier, April, 1965.

living in different geographic areas of the world, in their average appearance. Many of these differences have a genetic component.

Most often the latter consist in differences in the frequency of the same hereditary characters.

5. Different classifications of mankind into major stocks, and of those into more restricted categories (races, which are groups of populations, or single populations) have been proposed on the basis of hereditary physical traits. Nearly all classifications recognize at least three major stocks.

Since the pattern of geographic variation of the characteristics used in racial classification is a complex one, and since this pattern does not present any major discontinuity, these classifications, whatever they are, cannot claim to classify mankind into clear-cut categories; moreover, on account of the complexities of human history, it is difficult to determine the place of certain groups within these racial classifications, in particular that of certain intermediate populations.

Many anthropologists, while stressing the importance of human variation, believe that the scientific interest of these classifications is limited, and even that they carry the risk of inviting abusive generalizations.

Differences between individuals within a race or within a population are often greater than the average differences between races or populations.

Some of the variable distinctive traits which are generally chosen as criteria to characterize a race are either independently inherited or show only varying degrees of association between them within each population. Therefore, the combination of these traits in most individuals does not correspond to the typological racial characterization.

6. In man as well as in animals, the genetic composition of each population is subject to the modifying influence of diverse factors: Natural selection, tending towards adaptation to the environment, fortuitous mutations which lead to modifications of the molecules of desoxyribonucleic acid which determine heredity, or random modifications in the frequency of qualitative hereditary characters, to an extent dependent on the patterns of mating and the size of populations.

Certain physical characters have a universal biological value for the survival of the human species, irrespective of the environment. The differences on which racial classifications are based do not affect these characters, and, therefore, it is not possible from the biological point of view to speak in any way whatsoever of a general inferiority or superiority of this or that race.

7. Human evolution presents attributes of capital importance which are specific to the species.

The human species, which is now spread over the whole world, has a past rich in migrations, in territorial expansions and contractions.

As a consequence, general adaptability to the most diverse environments is in man more pronounced than his adaptations to specific environments.

For long millennia, progress made by man, in any field, seems to have been increasingly, if not exclusively, based on culture and the transmission of cultural achievements and not on the transmission of genetic endowment. This implies a modification in the role of natural selection in man today.

On account of the mobility of human populations and of social factors, mating between members of different human groups, which tend to mitigate the differentiations acquired, has played a much more important role in human history than in that of animals. This history of any human population or of any human race, is rich in instances of hybridization and those tend to become more and more numerous.

For man the obstacles to inter-breeding are geographical as well as social and cultural.

8. At all times, the hereditary characteristics of the human populations are in dynamic equilibrium as a result of this inter-breeding and of the differentiation mechanisms which were mentioned before. As entities defined by sets of distinctive traits, human races are at any time in a process of emergence and dissolution.

Human races in general present a far less clear-cut characterization than many animal races and they cannot be compared at all to races of domestic animals, these being the result of heightened selection for special purposes.

9. It has never been proven that inter-breeding has biological disadvantages for mankind as a whole.

On the contrary, it contributes to the maintenance of biological ties between human groups and thus to the unity of the species in its diversity.

The biological consequences of a marriage depend only on the individual genetic make-up of the couple and not on their race.

Therefore, no biological justification exists for prohibiting intermarriage between persons of different races, or for advising against it on racial grounds.

10. Man since his origin has had at his disposal ever more efficient cultural means of non-genetic adaptation.

11. Those cultural factors which break social and geographic barriers enlarge the size of the breeding populations and so act upon their genetic structure by diminishing the random fluctuations (genetic drift).

12. As a rule, the major stocks extend over vast territories encompassing many diverse populations which differ in language, economy, culture, etc.

There is no national, religious, geographic, linguistic or cultural group which constitutes a race ipso facto; the concept of race is purely biological.

However, human beings who speak the same language and share the same culture have a tendency to intermarry, and often there is as a result a certain degree of coincidence between physical traits on the one hand, and linguistic and cultural traits on the other. But there is no known causal nexus between these and therefore it is not justifiable to attribute cultural characteristics to the influence of the genetic inheritance.

13. Most racial classifications of mankind do not include mental traits or attributes as a taxonomic criterion.

Heredity may have an influence in the variability shown by individuals within a given population in their responses to the psychological tests currently applied.

However, no difference has ever been detected convincingly in the hereditary endowments of human groups in regard to what is measured by these tests. On the other hand, ample evidence attests to the influence of physical, cultural, and social environment on differences in response to these tests.

The study of this question is hampered by the very great difficulty of determining what part heredity plays in the average differences observed in so-called tests of overall intelligence between populations of different cultures.

The genetic capacity for intellectual development, like certain major anatomical traits peculiar to the species, is one of the biological traits essential for its survival in any natural or social environment.

The peoples of the world today appear to possess equal biological potentialities for attaining any civilizational level. Differences in the achievements of different peoples must be attributed solely to their cultural history.

Certain psychological traits are at times attributed to particular peoples. Whether or not such assertions are valid, we do not find any basis for ascribing such traits to hereditary factors, until proof to the contrary is given.

Neither in the field of hereditary potentialities concerning the overall intelligence and the capacity for cultural development, nor in that of physical traits, is there any justification for the concept of "inferior" and "superior" races.

The Popular Social Concept of Race

But outside of scientific circles, people continue to talk--sometimes constructively and sometimes hatefully--about races. Some of our most sophisticated thinkers offer ideas about how to improve race relations, while some of our most prejudiced citizens continue to make statements about the shortcomings of this race or the other. Our government continues to guarantee equality to people "regardless of race, creed, or color," and all of us continue to behave as though race were a very real, meaningful thing.

Popular Definitions of Race

Let us then stop to think what most people--with good as well as bad intentions--are thinking of when they talk about race or race relations. We will probably discover that they are talking about groups of people they see or know about who look and act differently from themselves.

To most people, a race is any group of people who appear to share similar physical features different from their own, and a common way of life which is also different in ideas, values, economic situation, political power, social behavior, or cultural level.

One social scientist phrases the problem this way:

> With superb disdain for the findings of the scientists, popular belief lumps biological, language, cultural, political, and other groups under the one heading of "race," and behaves accordingly. Our use of the term race, then, must conform to that of the ordinary citizen, for it is his behavior, not that of the scientists, that we are studying.[15]

While race as a scientific concept is a biogenetic classification, it still exists as a vague social concept in the mind of the man on the street. As a result, if Mr. Jones hates the green race, it will do no good to tell him that anthropologists have found there is no such thing. His answer is likely to be, "I don't care what you call those green people, I still don't trust them."

For this reason, it seems useless to purge the word race from the language, as Ashley Montagu has suggested. It is equally useless to try to insist that the scientific definition of the word be used by everyone. For in the unlikely event that we did succeed in changing the word habits of an entire nation, a new word like kzok would be used instead of race, and nothing basic would be changed. Instead of prejudice toward people of other races, we would have prejudice toward people of different kzoks--a condition which would not be considered an improvement by Ashley Montagu or anyone else.

It will be more productive to examine the facts and attitudes which underlie the popular concept of race, so that we can deal with and prevent the prejudices which this concept so often creates.

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[15] Donald Young, American Minority Peoples, in Brewton Berry, Race and Ethnic Relations (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1958), p. 52.

We know already that most people are using the scientific term race incorrectly. Anthropologists have told us that learned behavior is not inherited and therefore has nothing to do with racial classification based on inherited traits. They have also told us that the range of physical traits overlap in a continuum so that any racial classification is arbitrary. Therefore, a race is a category which describes a cluster of more or less dominant though minor physical characteristics in a population.

Practical Definitions of Race

But in spite of the protests of anthropologists, the idea of race refuses to die in the workaday world of people. It therefore has to be dealt with on a practical level by, among others, statisticians in the Census Bureau and by lawyers in states where there are laws concerning races. Their attempts at classifying people into racial groups meet with the same results as do the attempts of scientists: they achieve no dependable classifications and reach no agreement.

What, for example, is an Indian? Both the Census Bureau and the Bureau of Indian Affairs use different definitions of Indian. In the Census, the racial identification is that used by the person or the community. According to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, an Indian is one whose name is on the roll of a tribe under their jurisdiction. Furthermore, in Latin American countries an Indian is anyone who dresses, lives, and speaks like an Indian, regardless of his genetic inheritance. So if you ask how many Indians there are in the Americas, the correct answer may be 8 million or 80 million, depending on whose definition you use.

Who is a Negro? Legal definitions differ from state to state and even within the same state depending on the subject under discussion. A person may, for example, be considered a Negro according to marriage laws in a state, but may not be considered a Negro according to laws governing education in the same state.

State laws, in turn, may differ with the opinion of the Census Bureau which defines a Negro as any person who has any percentage of Negro blood, regardless of how little. The situation is somewhat reversed in Brazil and Puerto Rico where people with negroid features and coloring are classified as white if they have mixed white and Negro ancestors.

What it comes down to, then, is that each person and institution gives the word race an individual meaning and interpretation. The word race is difficult enough to deal with when it is used correctly. It becomes impossible to deal with when it means skin color to one person, poverty to another, good manners to a third, and religion or nationality to a fourth.

Origins of the Popular Social Concept of Race

The popular concept of race probably originated in feelings toward in-group and out-group associations, conquest, slavery, and differences in level of cultural development probably accentuated the perception of physical differences among people. Such cultural and class differences eventually became identified with certain physical types. Scientific explanations of race preceding the discovery of genetics also tended to reinforce rather than to modify popular concepts.

Cultural Development and Conquest. Many populations of the world have displayed, at different periods in their history, different stages of cultural development. The Achaeans and Dorians who invaded Greece beginning in the twelfth century B. C., destroyed the Bronze Age culture of Mycenaean Greece and ushered in a dark age from which it took centuries to recover. These tribal invaders, founders of classic Hellas, were rude barbarians when the civilizations of the Near East and Egypt were already thousands of years old. When these Greeks finally became civilized and developed a flourishing culture, they looked upon other men as inferior barbarians.

Fifteen hundred years later another group of barbarian tribes, antecedents of modern Europeans, overran and destroyed the culture of the Roman world. It took another 1500 years for Europe to regain the level of cultural development and the amenities which a citizen of Rome enjoyed. Yet, as with the Greeks, these later Europeans came to regard themselves as inherently superior to the rest of mankind.

This attitude became more marked after the 1500s. In this century, population growth and technological development permitted the European to begin a dynamic period of colonization and trade. For a period of four centuries, the European came to dominate much of the world.

Prior to the industrial revolution in the West, the technologies of Europe and Asia and Africa were not markedly different. Industrialization and technological development, however, permitted Europeans to conquer most of the world. Is not conquest, so the argument goes, conclusive proof of superiority? As conquerors of other cultures had done before, the European looked at the world from his egocentric position, and claimed his manifest superiority.

Slavery. The institution of slavery was not invented by Europeans. It was probably invented in the early civilizations of the Near East as a more efficient use of conquered manpower than extermination. Chattel slavery

was a basic economic and social institution in Greece and Rome. Quasi-slavery in the form of serfdom had prevailed in Europe in the Middle Ages. Chattel slavery, in the form of legal ownership of a human body, scarcely existed in post-Roman Europe. Manpower demands for the development of the Western Hemisphere, the weaknesses of the African kingdoms, and the prevalence of African slavery invited the establishment of chattel slavery in the New World.

The establishment of the African slave trade with the British colonies began a traffic in human flesh which led to the depopulation of large areas of Africa and a bitter legacy which still haunts the United States today. One very unfortunate by-product of New World slavery was the development of racist attitudes. The African was different from his European master--he had a dark skin. The association between the inferior status of slaves and dark skin was made and has persisted until this day. Many arguments were advanced to justify holding Africans as slaves--their lack of culture, Aristotle's concept of some men as innately inferior, and an interpretation of the Old Testament.

The real motive of slavery was economic. The African slave trade was an important element in the economics of Europe, and kings fought for the asiento, the right to supply Africans to the Spanish dominions in the Americas. In the United States, free Negroes exceeded the number of Negro slaves by 1800, and many men thought that slavery would die as an inefficient means of economic production. Technological change, however, fixed the "peculiar institution" on the United States for another half-century. The invention of the cotton gin in 1792 provided the South an alternative plantation crop for the rice and indigo which were no longer subsidized by the British. The economics of politics and slavery, of free states and slave states, became inextricably interwoven, excited passions, and finally led to the Civil War.

The status of the Negro in the United States in the 1970s mirrors the long agony of the United States over this question, and the struggle of a people to attain respect and equality in the face of racial discrimination.

Social Darwinism. Social thought in the nineteenth century accentuated the trend toward attributing cultural differences to differences in racial abilities. One of the dominant theories was Social Darwinism, a misapplication of a biological concept to social groups. One of the most important scientific breakthroughs of the nineteenth century was Charles Darwin's publication of Origin of Species in 1859. Darwin made such an impact on the scientific world that, in the second half of the nineteenth century, almost everything was explained in terms of evolution and heredity, including race.

Darwin's theories of evolution postulated that men were all descended from a common ancestor and belonged to a common species. He helped to eliminate the idea of a physically superior race among biologists. But Darwin's impact on the thinking of social scientists produced exactly the opposite conclusion.

Herbert Spencer was the most respected social scientist of that time. He applied Darwin's theories of biological evolution and natural selection to social groups, including nations and races. Spencer reasoned that cultures and races, like living organisms--evolve slowly through the process of natural selection and evolution from the most primitive to the most sophisticated. Unfortunately he did not realize that biological laws cannot be applied to social situations.

Spencer used biological analogy to develop his thesis of evolution from savagery to civilization. A human embryo goes through various stages of physical development from fish and amphibian characteristics to a developed human fetus. Spencer postulated that the mind of a child likewise goes through the various stages of development, from savagery to the most advanced forms of society. Unlike Darwin, Spencer believed that acquired characteristics of races were inherited.

In this way he explained the existence of so-called primitive races. Their development had been permanently arrested at an early evolutionary stage, and the minds of their people were as limited as the minds of children. Little or nothing could be done, Spencer said, to improve their civilizations. They were irrevocably fixed at a certain stage of their social evolution.

Through the process of natural selection, the races would struggle for survival. This conflict would slowly bring about the eventual evolution of superior men, races, and nations. Meanwhile, no race could be much improved beyond the level to which the natural forces of social evolution had brought it.

Spencer's impact on late nineteenth century thought was a powerful one. His ideas coincided with the late nineteenth century scramble for Africa and the partitioning of Asia into spheres of influence. Social Darwinism became popular with scientists and laymen alike. Social Darwinism extended even to the thinking of the United States Supreme Court in one of its most historic cases, Plessy v. Ferguson, in 1896.

This was the case which reinforced the "separate but equal" theory of Negro-white relations in the United States. The court reasoned that separate but equal public facilities for Negroes and whites did not violate the political equality of Negroes before the law which is guaranteed in the Fourteenth Amendment. The Constitution, the court argued, had no power to put Negroes

on the same social plane as whites when, in fact, they were not. This could only be accomplished by their natural social evolution.[16]

Spencer's theories also led to the theory of eugenics. Francis Galton, a cousin of Darwin, was one of the major spokesmen for the idea that there were fixed levels of intellectual achievement among individuals and among races. He believed, for example, that "the average intellectual standard of the Negro race is some two grades below our own," and that it would remain low.

Anthropological Practices. Much of the work of anthropologists in the nineteenth century also contributed to popular stereotypes about race. Two of these practices involved the search for the "missing link," and of comparing certain races with the primates. Early classification schemes, as previously noted, were pregenetic and represented an oversimplified view of racial types.

The missing link idea was part of the popular view that nature had an hierarchical order, with man at the top. Between the anthropoids and man was a missing link. As a result, various groups of aborigines were studied at various times to see if they would fill the gap. Since the gap was above the ape but below man--and since anthropologists were European and white--the white man was placed at the apex of the hierarchy. The missing link concept, which persisted long into the twentieth century, therefore, reinforced popular misconceptions of racial inferiority.

Another practice which developed was that of comparing races to the apes, which are a different species. Physical anthropologists, on the basis of fossil finds, now infer that both the ape and man formed different species independent of each other and are not related in any kind of linear evolution. Comparisons of whites and blacks to apes served no useful purpose in any case. If blacks are more like apes in lower face formation and skin color,

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[16]This line of thinking was reversed by the Supreme Court in 1954 in Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka. The court voted unanimously that segregation of Negro children in public schools deprives them of equal educational opportunities, even if physical facilities are equal. This decision was based on the premise that Negroes, as citizens of the United States, are guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States the equal protection of the laws. It also pointed out that segregation sanctioned by law generates feelings of inferiority in Negro children "that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone," as Chief Justice Warren put it. The court also declared that separate educational facilities cannot be equal--they are inherently unequal.

whites are more like apes in lip form and body hair. Furthermore, such comparisons are useless, since there is no hierarchical racial order and the races share a common gene pool. Although S. L. Washburn, at one time president of the American Anthropological Association, severely criticized this practice a quarter of a century ago, it is found in many physical anthropology textbooks, including those published in the last decade.

Association as Causal Explanation. One of the early principles of ethnography, reflecting the spirit of Social Darwinism, was the principle of linear social evolution. Early descriptions of particular groups of people tended to fit preconceived schemes of stages of cultural development, with a neglect of the evidence showing the patterning and divergence of cultural forms.

One result was to take certain cultural stereotypes found in association with certain groups and to explain the lack of cultural development, by European standards, on the basis of race. Since much of the language of ethnography was tinged with denigratory terms--such as savage, tribe, barbarous, primitive--the result was that early anthropologists unwittingly helped give a scientific rationale for racism. Anthropologists today try to be more precise and less value-oriented in their terminology, in order to prevent the development of such misconceptions.

Christian Missionary Activity. The nineteenth century was a period of expanded missionary activity, especially in Africa. Here, proselytizing efforts were supported by churches in the United States as well as Europe. Incentives for missionary activity, however, were not purely religious. They included suppression of the slave trade, creation of written languages in tribal dialects, education, and medical activities. Much of the early charitable work in Africa was under church auspices. Many of the present leaders of Africa owe their leadership positions to the education they received in mission schools.

Christian missionary activity, however, was inevitably tinged with ethnocentrism. The Christian missionary not only conceived it his duty to convert the "heathen" from his "pagan" gods in the name of the "true" god, but his purpose was to civilize the so-called savage.

The process of civilizing was based on the assumption that the population had no culture of its own, and that the only culture worth having was the culture of the white man. Until the verge of independence, the Christian church in Africa was a white-dominated church. In this respect, the Christian missionary effort became inevitably tinged with racism and identified as part of the apparatus of the colonial regime.

A UNESCO Statement on Race and Prejudice

The persistence of social misconceptions about race led UNESCO, in 1967, to issue a statement dealing with race and racial prejudice. This statement was prepared by a committee of experts on race and racial prejudice which met at UNESCO House, Paris, from September 18 to 26, 1967. It is included as Appendix A.

Why Do Misconceptions Persist?

Important as the UNESCO statements are for scientific accuracy, they are aimed at only part of the problem of race prejudice: misinformation. Much of what we call race prejudice--that is, prejudice against different racial, cultural, or ethnic groups--stems as much from wrong thinking or non-thinking as wrong information.

Scientific evidence from physical and social science is now available to disprove all the misconceptions about race. Yet people who have more than their share of education and common sense seem to cling to these misconceptions. This indicates that there are certain psychological mechanisms at work in people--even sensible, well-meaning people--which defy all rules of reason.

In the last chapter we will look more closely at these feelings--inferiority, guilt, frustration, fear of new and different things, anxiety, conformity and misplaced aggression--all of which are sometimes alleviated by racial prejudice and scapegoating. We can assume, then, that until all people as individuals and in groups can find constructive outlets for their pent-up fears and frustrations, prejudice and scapegoating will persist. And because mankind has had long experience with prejudice against people who look and act differently, so-called race prejudice will also persist in some people, regardless of the facts in the case.

Let us see now how race prejudice is perpetuated by those with good as well as questionable intentions.

The Tactics of Racists

Those who tend to perpetuate race prejudice are frequently called racists. They do this by spreading misinformation to as many people as possible, and by exploiting their fears and frustrations. Furthermore, racists need and manage to find convincing arguments to back up their ideas.

Some who use race as a weapon or a release for their feelings are anxious to enlist others in their crusade. They are not content with discriminating against people when the occasion arises. Racists are inclined to seek out opportunities to attack members of other racial groups. And the more backing they have, the more confidently they can attack. Political leaders or candidates who use race prejudice to attain or hold power must also win over large numbers of people to their point of view.

Pseudo-science. The misuse of scientific data or method has been one of the time-honored tactics of the unscrupulous for selling an idea to the uninformed. Racists often use incorrect information, wrong premises, or draw inappropriate conclusions from insufficient facts to suit their needs. Pseudo-scientific arguments have been most often used to prove that one race is inferior to another in intelligence, and that this inferiority is inborn and final.

Let us examine two attempts by Carleton Putnam, an acknowledged racist, to prove that whites are intellectually superior to Negroes. Putnam preaches the doctrine of white supremacy which maintains that white people are innately superior to peoples with any other skin color. His main target is the American Negro. Putnam tried to prove that whites were more intelligent than Negroes by citing data from one study. This study showed that the brain of the average Negro is smaller than the brain of the average white person.

But Putnam's "proof" overlooked a number of other significant facts. First of all, scientists have not proven that brain size and intelligence are related in man. Secondly, Putnam based his conclusion on one limited study.

Other studies have shown that there is little or no difference in the brain sizes of Negroes and whites. Furthermore, studies have shown that the brain of the average Eskimo is larger than that of the average white man. This means that if brain size did have anything to do with intelligence, Putnam would have to become an Eskimo supremacist.

Another of Putnam's pseudo-scientific exploits was his five-year campaign, begun in 1958, to prove scientifically that white people were by nature more intelligent than Negroes. Putnam used the work of William George, Henry Garrett, and Audrey Shuey as "scientific" evidence to support his beliefs.

However, when the data and conclusions were examined by a committee of scientists, they determined that the research proved nothing at all. The committee said further that Putnam's investigation--as well as any future claims of white intellectual superiority--would be considered invalid

unless the research procedure met three conditions:

1. That the genetic homogeneity of the Negro and white groups is demonstrated, not assumed as it had been in the Putnam study;

2. That the persons tested come from fully equal social and cultural backgrounds;

3. That the tests used are proven reliable and valid in testing native inborn intelligence, rather than learning acquired through education or life experience.[17]

To date, none of these conditions has been met by those who continue to try to prove racial differences in intelligence. Meanwhile, scientists with no axe to grind have demonstrated at various times in many ways that environmental factors influence test performance. They agree that native inborn capacity for learning is developed to whatever degree the cultural and social climate encourages its development.

One example of the influence of environment over racial factors is the study which tested the IQs of Negroes and whites in the North and South. In this study, northern Negroes scored higher than southern whites, but below northern whites. On the other hand, southern whites scored higher than southern Negroes.

In this case, social and cultural factors were obviously more significant than skin color. Those who scored higher, regardless of race, probably did so because social and cultural factors in the North and South determine such things as how much money is spent for public education, how long children remain in school, what types of jobs they are able to hold, and whether they live in rural or urban communities.

Two major difficulties stand in the way of comparing the intelligence of individual as well as different cultural or racial groups. First, scientists have found little if any convincing evidence that a person is born with a certain fixed capacity for learning. It is impossible to measure intelligence as a capacity or aptitude independent of environmental experience. Furthermore, even when intelligence is defined as an aptitude, it is always measured through performances which have been learned in a specific culture. Actual achievement depends on many factors: a person's motivation, health, personality, exposure to learning, the value placed on learning in his group, and

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[17] Melvin M. Fumin, ed., Race and Intelligence: A Scientific Evaluation, (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1963), p. 9.

other outside influences, as well as genetic capacity.

Secondly, there is no such thing in the world today as a culture-free test. Any test of intelligence can be applied fairly only to persons who have the same social and cultural background as measured by the test items. Anyone with a different background cannot answer the questions simply because he is not familiar with the things or ideas the questions deal with, not because he is not intelligent.

In addition, so-called intelligence tests actually test only what a person has learned, not what he is capable of learning. They test achievement, not inborn intelligence. Intelligence tests were originally developed in France to identify children in the public schools who were behind in their school work. They tested, with reasonable accuracy, a child's achievement in school at a given moment.

However, educational psychologists then tried to use these tests in order to measure native intelligence. Although the tests could do a reasonably good job of testing a child's learning in school, they were not and still are not a fair measure of so-called innate ability to learn. Intelligence can only be measured in the context of cultural performance. The idea that they measure some innate ability is misleading.

Scientists therefore continue to assume that an aborigine baby brought up and educated in the United States could become president of Harvard or General Motors. Lacking contrary evidence, they assume that if a test were created which was free of cultural influences, all groups of people would score equally well, although there would be the normal variations within each group.

The only true form of intellectual inferiority known today is mental retardation--a condition which affects children with every skin color and physical configuration. It is interesting to note, though, that even among the 85% of retarded children who are being educated in public and private schools, most are retarded for cultural reasons--not because of physical defects. Of the remaining 15% in institutions, as many as 10% may be retarded for cultural reasons.

The modern scientific position is summed up in this joint statement from a UNESCO conference on race and intelligence, which says in part:

> Whatever classifications the anthropologist makes of man, he never includes mental characteristics as part of those classifications. It is now generally recognized that intelligence tests do not themselves enable us to differentiate safely between what is due to innate capacity and what is

the result of environmental influences, training and education.

> Wherever it has been possible to make all allowances for differences in environmental opportunities, the tests have shown essential similarity in mental characters among all human groups. In short, given similar degrees of cultural opportunity to realize their potentialities, the average achievement of the members of each ethnic group is about the same.[18]

While some racists belabor the issue of intelligence, others concentrate on physical superiority. This is even more difficult to prove one way or the other. The Olympic games have often been considered--by racists and nationalists--to be the testing ground for racial or national superiority in sports. To date, however, nothing of the kind has been proven except that excellence in sports is largely a matter of individual differences in body build, diet, training, motivation, and various skills.

In addition, national policies may influence the outcome. Those countries which--like Russia--feel their national honor is at stake in the Olympics, will go to great lengths to train and encourage their athletes to participate and to win.

In any case, Olympic records to date show that no race or other group can claim to excel in sports. If future games should show one racial group in the lead among the winners, we would still not be justified in assuming that the other 99% of the people in that same group are also physically outstanding specimens.

Another fertile field for racists who use the pseudo-scientific approach is the subject of intermarriage. In the middle of the nineteenth century, Herbert Spencer preached that intermixture of unlike peoples was disastrous. Spencer reasoned that each "variety of creature" adapts to its specific environment in the course of many generations. Therefore, when two varieties or races intermarry, their children have a "constitution which will not work properly, because it is not fitted for any set of conditions whatever."

This fallacious line of reasoning was followed by many others, and has culminated in state laws which prohibited intermarriage (as well as blood transfusions) between persons of different races in the United States. However, this theory of race degeneration through intermixture is not supported by the emergence of hybrid populations. In addition to modern mixed groups, all populations are hybrids which have become culturally and geographically isolated.

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[18] Ibid., pp. 5-6.

Appeal to Authority. Another tactic used by racists is appeal to an authority who favors, or can be misconstrued to favor, the superiority of one race over another. Because the scientific method has gained so much public acceptance in recent years, the appeal to authority is no longer particularly effective when it cites the arguments of Aristotle or more contemporary thinkers. However, it is still a powerful tool when it is used to cite divine authority--quotations from sacred books or religious leaders.

In many instances, the passages cited as proof are misinterpreted or taken out of context. This is especially true of allegorical books whose meaning is not perfectly clear in the first place, such as the Bible, the Moslem Koran, and the Hindu Vedas.

In the first half of the 1800s, apologists for slavery often harked back to passages about slavery in the Bible. They argued that Negroes were descendants of Ham--a cursed race, according to the Bible--and that some people were by nature meant to be slaves. The Bible continues to be used as a rich source of authoritative views on every subject, including racism, for those who wish to find such views in it.

Scapegoating. The racist who practices scapegoating is often a political leader who uses political tactics. While he may employ pseudo-scientific arguments or appeals to authority, the main thrust of his effort is to place the blame for the problems of his followers on some powerless group.

This accomplishes three things: (1) it provides his followers an outlet for their fear, anger, and frustration; (2) it diverts their attention from their real problems which their leader will not or cannot solve; and (3) it unites the people and their leader more strongly in a common cause.

Usually scapegoaters step in when there is a change or threat of change in the status quo. People are frightened and confused when they are faced with the prospect of giving up their old familiar ways, and taking on strange new ways. When this change involves another racial group--any group which is different or looks different--the scapegoater blames this group for the change and the discomforts which go with it.

This was the case, for example, on the West Coast in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The immigration of Orientals, first recruited to work on the Central Pacific Railroad, was called the "Yellow Peril," because they worked for low wages and competed with white laborers. The economic competition was needlessly attributed to race. Actually the skin color of the laborers had nothing to do with the economic problems resulting from competition for land, resources, and jobs.

A similar reaction occurred in China during the Boxer Rebellion, which was an uprising against the so-called "White Devils." Although the economic and political problems which brought it about could have been justly blamed on foreign and perhaps "devilish" intruders, the introduction of the word "white" added an unnecessary racial dimension to the hate which was generated for them.

More recently, awareness of differences in skin color as well as culture and language have been added to the problems created by the large influx of Puerto Ricans into New York. Again, the problems are real enough. Puerto Ricans threatened the livelihood of unskilled workers by working for lower wages. They offended other New Yorkers by clinging to their way of life and their language. However, none of these problems are in any way related to their physical characteristics.

In another variety of scapegoating, blame for a society's problems is placed on a group which is not involved at all. History's acknowledged master of this technique is Adolf Hitler who preached in Mein Kampf the superiority of a non-existent Aryan race. He then proceeded to persecute all those who did not belong to this race--particularly Jews who observe centuries-old religious beliefs and practices but who do not constitute a race based on distinctive physical characteristics.

The injustice of blaming a group which was not even remotely responsible for Germany's post-World War I problems is highlighted by a rather bitter joke which was told at that time. When a Jewish man was told by his non-Jewish neighbor that all of Germany's troubles were due to the Jews, the Jew said, "And also the bicycle riders." "Why the bicycle riders?" the man asked. "Why the Jews?" was the reply.

It is ironic, too, that Hitler could preach the superiority of the Aryan race--which he pictured as blond, blue-eyed, and long-limbed--and, at the same time, ally himself with two peoples who were typically non-Aryan in appearance: the Italians and the Japanese. Hitler himself possessed none of the alleged physical characteristics of his so-called master race.

The tactics of the political scapegoater in manipulating the fear and hatred of his people is best summed up in a remark Hitler made privately to a friend:

> I know perfectly well... that in the scientific sense there is no such thing as a race. But you, as a farmer and cattle breeder, cannot get your breeding successfully achieved without the concept of race. And I, as a politician, need a conception which enables the order which has hitherto existed

on historical bases to be abolished, and an entirely new and anti-historic order enforced and given an intellectual basis . . . With the conception of race, National Socialism will . . . recast the world.[19]

The Problems of Unconscious Prejudice

But we have been talking here about people whom we call racists--people with fixed ideas who have an emotional need for hatred and persecution. Perhaps we will never be entirely successful in eliminating their poisonous thoughts and actions from the world.

But we can hope for considerably more success in eliminating conventional or unconscious prejudice. The honestly misinformed, misguided person can be enlightened by facts about what a race is and is not. The question is, what stands in the way of such change?

Labeling. First of all, it will take time to teach people with conventional prejudices the true facts about race, and even more time to change ingrained habits of unthinking behavior. This educational process is hampered by the fact that even our institutions continue to count and classify people according to race, even though they now know that this cannot be done with any reasonable degree of accuracy. For instance, the Census Bureau continues to count and classify people on the basis of races such as White, non-White, Negro, Indian, Japanese, Chinese and Filipino.

Unfortunately, most institutions will have to continue to assemble statistics by races until racial integration is an undisputed, accepted part of American life. Statistics on voting, employment, housing, and education of Negroes and other minority groups are needed in order to safeguard their civil rights.

This kind of classification nevertheless perpetuates the kind of faulty reasoning which leads people to identify others by their race in instances where physical characteristics are irrelevant. By asking for racial data, we reinforce the erroneous notion that biological differences are, in fact, significant.

For example, it is significant to the makeup man in a movie studio to know the skin color and hair texture of the actors. However, the race of

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[19]Hermann Rauschning, The Voice of Destruction (New York: Putnam, 1940), p. 232.

the makeup man should be irrelevant to the actors who are dependent upon his skill and experience, not his appearance.

Changes are being made to correct this habit of typing people with meaningless racial labels. The word race is disappearing from application forms of all kinds--for employment and college entrance, for example. Another example of a step in the right direction is the change in editorial policy of some newspapers in the South. Many editors have realized that labeling people Negro or white in their news stories creates the subtle inference that there is some significance in such a label when, in fact, it is usually irrelevant to the story. They have, therefore, in recent years eliminated such labels except when they serve some definite informational purpose in the story.

This type of vigilance over the unconscious use of race labels by individuals and institutions in our society will be necessary if we are once and for all to separate physical and cultural traits in our minds, and put minor biological differences in their correct perspective. It will do much to remove the word race from the realm of blind reaction and emotion, and create a more rational, positive pattern of thinking about individual and group differences.

Stereotyping. The tendency to stereotype is another form of unthinking behavior which perpetuates racial prejudice and scapegoating. Averages or generalizations cease to be useful--in fact, become very dangerous--when they are blindly and thoughtlessly applied to individual cases. Even a generalization which is based on true facts and is not exaggerated cannot apply to every inch of a river or every member of a group. Since each person is different, he must be rated on the basis of his own accomplishments. It is grossly unfair and unscientific to give him the credit or blame for all the characteristics of people whom he resembles in face, form, or culture.

Summary

The position of physical anthropologists today is that there are no races of man comparable to the classifications which can be made in the plant and animal world. Furthermore, even if a system were one day found to classify men biologically by race, these classifications would serve no scientific purpose. Research on all aspects of inherited biological characteristics can proceed without such categories.

Social anthropologists have come to a similar conclusion. Their studies of culture and all other forms of learned behavior can be made using other classifications such as ethnic, cultural, linguistic, or economic groups.

The man in the street who still relies on the concept of race as a justification for his attitudes and actions has not yet been influenced by the thinking of scientists. Extremists, of course, do not wish to be swayed by facts because their racial prejudices are cultivated to meet other needs. However, the majority of people with mistaken notions about race are simply not yet aware that their ideas are incompatible with modern scientific knowledge.

This lack of awareness is partly the result of centuries of misinformation which was not definitely put straight until a very short time ago. It was not until 1964 that a UNESCO committee of scientists undertook this task. In addition, up-to-date knowledge about race and prejudice has been slow in reaching people because it has not been included in school curricula.

On the negative side, old fashioned ideas about race have been reinforced by continued incorrect use of this term by people with both good and bad intentions. The concept that there <u>are</u> races and that races <u>are</u> significant has been perpetuated even by institutions of society. However, data collection by race is often necessary in order to enforce compliance with laws designed to reduce racial discrimination and provide more opportunities for minority groups.

The indiscriminate use of the term race has led to labeling and stereotyping of people even when no harm was meant or prejudice implied. Prejudice has thus been subtly perpetuated by reinforcing the idea that there is some purpose in calling attention to physical characteristics in situations where these are irrelevant.

Because the facts about race and racial prejudice are relatively new, it will take time to educate people to accept them. While it is unlikely that the opinions or behavior of racists will be changed by education, their influence should be very much diminished in a society where the majority of the people are enlightened about race. Society will then become less influenced by the distorted facts and allegations which racists use to argue their case.

Racial difference is one basis for prejudice. Others are class and caste differences, which we will examine next. It is worthwhile to keep in mind what we have learned about racists and those with unconscious prejudice. Similar positions reflecting prejudice are given in the next chapter.

SOCIAL CLASS AND CASTE

Introduction

Social Stratification

In almost every society, social divisions exist. Most societies rank individuals according to their importance and then group them with others who have a similar standing in society. The process of dividing a society into groups of different levels of importance is called social stratification.

The criteria for ranking individuals and groups vary from one society to another because they depend on each society's values. Depending on what a society believes to be important, these criteria may include physical features or race, religion, wealth, education, occupation, politics, geography, nationality, family background, or ethnic group. Most often, though, it is a combination of several of these factors.

There are some societies called classless societies which have no social stratification at all, as we shall see later in this chapter. But in those where it does exist, there are differences in the kind or amount of rights and privileges, freedoms and restrictions, which members of the various groups have. Among these is the freedom to move from one group to another which we shall see when we study examples of two forms of social stratification: open and closed societies. We will also look at other inequalities created by social stratification so that we can understand why social divisions have caused prejudice and conflict for thousands of years.

Social Status

To understand social stratification, we must first understand social status. A person's status is his position or rank in any group as compared to the rank of others in that group. Every person has more than one status because he is ranked in each group of which he is a member. For example, Private O'Donald might have a very low status in the army. In civilian life his status as a college professor might be high, while his status in his bowling league might be middle-of-the-road.

A person's social status--his status in society as a whole--is not the sum of all his separate statuses, however. It reflects only his rank in those groups which are important in the eyes of his society. In the United States, for example, a garbage man may have the highest status in his church, his union, and his political club, and still have a low overall social status because his rank in areas which his society values--occupation, income, and education--is low.

There are two types of social status. Ascribed status is the social status a person is born with--a status he inherits from his parents. Achieved status is a new higher or lower social status which a person earns by his own efforts. A lower achieved status is one a person earns by failing to live up to the standards of the ascribed status which he inherited. A person born into a wealthy aristocratic family, for example, who decides to become a beachcomber may earn a lower achieved status in this way.

Open and Closed Societies

In some societies a person keeps his ascribed status all his life regardless of his achievements or lack of them. This is true in closed societies which do not permit social mobility--the ability to move from one class to another by achieving a higher or lower status. In closed societies, people of similar status are grouped into more or less permanent groups called castes. As sociologist Charles H. Cooley puts it, "When a class is somewhat strictly hereditary, we may call it a caste." For this reason, closed societies are called caste societies and their system of social stratification is called the caste system.

In open societies, social mobility up and down the social ladder is possible although it may be difficult in many cases. Social strata in an open society are called classes. They are made up of people with similar ascribed or achieved status. In a class society or system, a person has some chance of gaining a higher achieved status or of losing the ascribed status with which he was born.

In addition to the open and closed society there is also the classless society in which all persons have equal status and little or no social stratification exists. Classless societies are not common today, although they do exist in societies where there is little technology and where people lead the simple life of the hunter and gatherer. While classes and castes are usually found in highly developed technological societies where differences in wealth are very obvious, social stratification is also found in many folk cultures and undeveloped societies.

Barriers to Social Mobility

Many people think of America as a classless society. This view is due, in part, to the Protestant ethic that hard work leads to success. It is also due to the democratic belief that all people have equal opportunities. Such beliefs are combined with the fact that social mobility is, indeed, common in America. Because of social mobility, many Americans think of their society as a classless society. Nevertheless, there are social classes.

Those things which determine class or caste status in a culture may be seen as barriers separating groups of people. In America, a person with a low status due to less education, little material wealth, and a low status occupation may find it difficult to improve his class position.

If we assume only these three things to be keeping him from achieving a higher status, then these can be viewed as barriers preventing class mobility. On the surface it seems that these barriers can be overcome without much difficulty. One might conclude that the individual need only to improve his educational level. Then he could find a better job with a higher status. This, in turn, should lead to greater material wealth.

However, the problem is not so easy to solve. Higher education is often quite expensive. Furthermore, the problem of going to school and holding a family-supporting job is often very difficult. Finally, entrance requirements to college require satisfactory high school records. Many students drop out of high school. There are, therefore, many barriers to social mobility.

In a caste society such as we find in India, the barriers are more rigid. A person born into a caste usually remains in that caste his entire life. Since his status is determined primarily by that of his parents, there is little he can do to change it.

Attempts to Minimize Class Differences

From the time man began to observe and organize his perceptions of mankind, he has been aware of class differences. Plato dramatized perceptions of class differences by classifying the population into a large lower section of persons of brass, a middle smaller group of persons of silver, and a small elite of gold.

Throughout the history of mankind, reformers and idealists have sought to ameliorate class distinctions. The Industrial Revolution in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries generated many utopian schemes to improve the condition of the lower classes. Karl Marx, viewing the tendency

of the rich to get richer and the early nineteenth century misery of the English working classes, formulated his view of history as a doctrine of the struggle between classes. He overlooked the gradual increase in standard of living and amelioration of working conditions which gradually came to characterize the latter nineteenth century. In Germany, the Socialist Party became less doctrinaire with the rise in working conditions. The slogan of International Socialism, "Working men of the world, unite!" was powerless in the face of the great national divisions which were associated with World War I.

After the early Communist Revolution in Russia, the Communists attempted to apply the Communist doctrine of "From each according to his ability to each according to his need." The classless society did not emerge with the proletarian revolution, however. The rewards for officials, managers, and other intellectuals was at first no greater than the rewards for a laborer. But this equality of payment ran into the hard fact of production: without appropriate rewards, there would be no concomitant assumption of responsibility. And workers would not work as hard for society in general as they would work for their own personal reward. Therefore, the Soviet government gradually shifted to a highly competitive incentive system based on piece work in industry. In place of the Czarist elite based on land ownership and hereditary status, the Soviet government instituted an elite based on position in the Communist hierarchy.

Class distinctions thus exist in Communist countries as they do in capitalist countries. The life chances of children in higher socio-economic classes in the Soviet Union are higher than the life chances of children in lower socio-economic classes, as they are in the United States. A son of a high ranking Soviet official, plant manager, or army officer has a much better chance of getting a higher education and a favorable position in the Soviet hierarchy than the son of a worker, no matter how much the virtues of hard work and labor may be extolled.

In the United States and the Soviet Union, attempts are made to ameliorate some of the worst effects of class differences. The procedures may be different, but the intent is the same--to raise the level of the mass society. However, few reformers except the most doctrinaire now believe that a state can achieve a completely classless society through government action.

In countries formerly under the control of European powers, native political leaders often accused the white official and planter class of constituting an exploiting elite. However, when the colonial regimes were replaced by national regimes in the hands of indigenous leaders, these leaders assumed the class privileges of power and economic and political favoritism formerly identified with the white rulers. The extreme corruption developing in such regimes has frequently set the stage for the military to take over as a reformist group in the name of democracy.

Summary

The two main forms of social stratification are the open and the closed society--the class system and the caste system. In open societies, individuals are grouped in classes according to their ascribed or achieved status and have some opportunity for social mobility. In a closed society, individuals usually retain their ascribed status and are grouped into castes accordingly. Barriers between castes are more rigid, and social mobility is difficult or non-existent.

Status and social divisions are important factors in almost all societies today except for a few simple classless societies. Throughout history, attempts have been made to do away with classes or to minimize class differences, but none of these has been successful.

Let us look now at some examples of different cultures to see how status is attained, how the class and caste systems operate and change, and how social divisions influence the lives of people in different social systems including our own.

Determining Social Status

The following examples of the Gopalpur in India, Chinook Indians of the Pacific Northwest, Ibo of Africa, and United States Americans indicate how different cultures assign status through value preferences.

The People of Gopalpur

South and to the west of Bombay, India is the region of Gopalpur. The people of Gopalpur have their general social status based on two specific statuses. These are ceremonial status and economic status. Both of these statuses are related to the religious beliefs of the people.

Social rank is based on the idea of reaching nearness to god through purity. The high ranking gods are vegetarians. Therefore, people who are vegetarians have a higher ceremonial status than those who eat meat. Meat eaters are ranked by the kinds of meats eaten. Following the vegetarians come those who eat mutton, beef or pork. People who eat both beef and pork rank lowest.

Economic status is also related to religious belief. The landlord class is the highest economic class. In Gopalpur the landowners are also vegetarians. Their ceremonial and economic statuses are both very high. We should note that the occupation of landlords does not involve working with animals.

The lowest economic status in terms of occupation is the leather worker. The leather worker does not own land. Instead he works with the hides of once living animals. The leather worker in Gopalpur eats both beef and pork.

The Chinook and Potlatch

The Chinook Indians in Northwestern America practiced another way of deciding status. In their culture, high rank was given to those who had a large amount of material goods. The Chinook proved their wealth by giving away belongings. Anyone who could give away or destroy a large number of possessions could rise in status. He might earn his father's high status or move from the status of war captive to free man.

The Indians gave up their belongings in a ceremony. This ceremony was called a potlatch. The term potlatch means "giving." During a potlatch, money or possessions were given away to invited guests or destroyed. In either case, the more possessions a man gave away or destroyed, the better his proof of high status.

The practice of potlatch became very competitive. Each man tried to out-potlatch his neighbor. Potlatch ceremonies reached fantastic heights. Canoes were burned. In some cases slaves were thrown into a fire. Copper plaques and money which did not burn were thrown into the ocean or rivers. Later, in a more recent potlatch, an Indian pushed cars over the side of a cliff.

The Ibo in Africa

In Nigeria, the Ibo have a way of determining status which contrasts sharply with the potlatch method of the Chinook. The Ibo believe in collecting material wealth but they do not give it away or destroy it. The Ibo religion plays a major role in defining how one achieves status.

The Ibo believe that when a man dies he goes before the creator. There he bargains for a new role in the next life on earth. Wealth status symbols are used in the bargaining. An Ibo, therefore, tries to accumulate a great deal of wealth in his lifetime so he can bargain for the highest social status possible. Following the bargaining session, the Ibo believe they will be returned to earth as newly-born infants. The successful bargainer can expect a long life as a wealthy, highly respected person.

Social Status in the U.S.A.

Although potlatch as described above may seem strange to Americans, it has its counterparts in American society. A family may spend undue thousands of dollars on a wedding. This is, in effect, giving away material possessions to the guests.

There are also other examples similar to potlatch in American life. Buying and showing off status symbols such as expensive cars, homes, boats, furs, or jewelry is a custom among almost all groups. In this sense, Americans can be compared to the Ibo of southeastern Nigeria. Collection of status symbols is a main goal of the Ibo. However, their reasons are different from those of Americans.

In America, a person's overall social status is based on such factors as occupation, wealth, education, place of residence, and membership in certain organizations and clubs. These factors are often interrelated. A person with a high level of education often receives a job which provides a higher income than occupations requiring less education or training. Greater income obviously lends itself to increased wealth and allows the individual to live in a more wealthy neighborhood.

Social Stratification in Folk Cultures

In the following cases, the Arunta and Yahgan are examples of folk cultures without class distinctions. The Rwalla show a mixture of in-group status as well as client and outcaste tribal relationships; the Somali present hereditary occupational outcaste groups; and the Rwanda show a caste society, and the resultant social patterns of conqueror and conquered as a basic cause in the emergence of class distinctions among the Rwalla, Somali, and Rwanda.

Classless Societies

The two classless societies described here are the Arunta of central Australia and the Yahgan of South America. As you read these descriptions, you might ask the following questions and try to answer them.

1. Is there any particular group in Arunta or Yahgan society which holds political power?

2. Do some members of each society have more material wealth than others?

3. Is a great deal of wealth stored by the members of the societies?

4. Are there very many occupations which can be ranked in terms of prestige or status?

By answering these questions, some of the reasons for the existence of social classes will become more clear.

The Arunta. The Arunta are a hunting and gathering people. They eat almost any kind of plant and animal they can find in their desert environment. The material possessions of the Arunta are very few. They wear little or no clothing. Other goods consist of spears and spear throwers, shallow wood bowls, grinding stones, and digging sticks. A small string bag made from root fibers is used to carry what few goods they have, such as bird eggs and bulb roots. The Arunta have no means for storing or preserving food and as a result do not store up surpluses.

Each Arunta family provides for its own shelter, food, and clothing. There is no variety in occupation. All men have the same basic job of hunting while all women and children have the job of gathering. Living quarters consist of small huts made from sticks and grass. Since the Arunta move quite often, they sometimes sleep outside. The Arunta live in small bands. There is no political government. There is no division of labor which makes the Arunta interdependent upon each other. There are no courts of law and no police. The Arunta are unified by personal relationships. In such a society etiquette is most important. Traditional rules of social behavior must be strictly observed. If etiquette is not observed, feuds might result, and the society could fall apart.

The Yahgan. The Yahgan Indians live at the southern tip of South America. They are usually unclothed and provide no shelter for themselves except for brush huts. The Yahgan are unified on the principle that they are different from their neighbors and as a group share a common territory. Based upon this knowledge, the Yahgan feel that they must defend and help each other against outsiders. This is totally a personal feeling. There is no organized system to unite them into group action. Although the Yahgan believe in a number of gods and spirits, they have no priests or formal set of beliefs.

The Yahgan are often called canoe Indians because transportation is almost solely done on the water. The most important animal for food is the seal. The seal's hide is used for tents and moccasins. The most common food is shellfish. The search for shellfish directs the movement of the family from one place to another. A beached whale is highly prized since such a find provides food for many people. Since the Yahgan do not accumulate wealth or even food over periods of time, a whale feast brings many people together and is a large social event.

The material goods consist of few items. The canoe is the most important one. The spear is the main weapon. Women use a stick to search for crabs and other small sea animals. Besides these items, the Yahgan have chipped stone knives and stone skin scrapers. Yahgan men do the hunting and fishing. They build canoes, make weapons, and help in building huts. Women primarily cook, watch after the children, make baskets, and gather shellfish, crabs, and berries. When hunting at sea, women pilot the canoe while the men attempt to spear a sea animal.

Summary

From these descriptions of Arunta and Yahgan societies, we note the following. First, there is no particular group which rules over the rest of either Arunta or Yahgan society. Therefore, there are no classes based on political power.

Secondly, all members within each society have about the same amount of clothing, live in similar huts, do not own land, and consume about the same amount of food. They do not save or store any material wealth. Material wealth, therefore, is not a reason for social classes.

Finally, the Arunta and Yahgan are hunting and gathering groups. All members follow the same general occupation. Differences in occupation do not serve as a basis for class distinction.

In both societies there is no political government, no material wealth, no ownership or storing of goods, and no occupational differences. There are also no social classes. Ethnographic studies of many gathering cultures show that the absence of material wealth and hierarchical organization is correlated with the absence of social classes. We can make the generalization that classless societies are those which are hunting and gathering cultures or other similar cultures which have little material wealth.

Class Societies

Some folk cultures have rather complex and rigid class systems. At this time we shall briefly examine folk cultures which are not classless. As each culture is described, keep in mind those factors which we have discussed concerning the basis of social class or caste.

Rwalla Bedouins and the Sulubba. In the 1920s, the Rwalla were located in the desert area in northern Arabia and Jordan. It is difficult to define their territory specifically since they were nomadic. The Rwalla divided human beings into two main groups. They called those living in permanent dwellings

hazar and those who lived in tents arab.[1] The Rwalla were tent dwellers or nomads and therefore arab. Their main occupation was camel breeding. The Rwalla relied upon the hazars to provide grain, clothing, weapons, and other material goods.

The Rwalla tribes often fought among each other. The stronger tribe usually had the weaker tribe pay taxes. A very powerful tribe had a number of other tribes paying taxes (khuwa). Nevertheless, the tribe receiving khuwa had the task of protecting weaker tribes in return for khuwa. This type of arrangement is called a client relationship.

The client relationship of protection and payment resulted in class difference. The tribe which paid for protection held a lower social status than the tribe providing protection. Even though two tribes with a client relationship might camp side by side, the protector-tribe limited social interaction with the weaker tribe. For example, it was forbidden for a member of the protector tribe to marry a member of the weaker tribe. The parents in the stronger group would consider it a great loss of social status to allow such a marriage. Incidentally, such a prohibition also helped maintain the client relationship.

The Rwalla also distinguished social status by occupation. Camel breeding was, of course, highly respectable, but the occupation of a blacksmith was considered lowly. Therefore, marriage between such groups was also prohibited. Along with blacksmiths, slaves occupied the lowest status among the Rwalla. Again social barriers were erected.

Another type of client relationship involved outsiders who came to live with a particular Rwalla tribe. These people were called kusara or neighbor. The kusara had a high social status and was treated with kindness and respect. The basis for this treatment was an agreement with the tribe of the kusara. This agreement was merely that the Rwalla would protect the kusara from the other Rwalla. In return the kusara would protect the Rwalla against his own people.

Before slavery was abolished in the 1930s, slaves occupied a low status in Rwalla society. The slaves were Negroes from Africa. But slaves in Rwalla society had a strikingly different status than chattel slaves in pre-Civil War America. The slaves of Rwalla could not be sold or killed. Furthermore, slaves usually remained with the same family.

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[1] Musil Alois and J. B. Glubb, "The Complicated Lives of Desert Nomads: The Twalla Bedawin," in A Reader in General Anthropology, Carleton S. Coon (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1948), pp. 380-408.

The social conditions of slaves in Rwalla society allowed for advantages which Negro American slaves did not have. A most important difference was that Rwalla's slaves were able to maintain stable family ties. The slave-master relationship was reciprocal. The slave received his own tent, weapons, food, and camels from the master. He even had the right to steal and eat all of the food which had been prepared for the master by the master's wife or mother. In return for services, the slave cared for the young children, loaded and unloaded camels, pitched tents, and took part in raids and warfare. During an enemy invasion, the slave protected the master's family. Slaves of chiefs did little or no work and had more freedom than other slaves.

Under such conditions slaves developed a social class system of their own within Rwalla society. Slaves of chiefs or princes had a higher social status than other slaves. Nevertheless, regardless of the status of a slave in the slave sub-society, a slave was never allowed to marry even the poorest of the Bedouin. However, they were allowed to marry children of blacksmiths.

In every Rwalla camp there was at least one blacksmith and his family. The status of a blacksmith was very low. He lived the same way as the Bedouins except that his occupation dealt with shoeing horses and repairing rifles, daggers and other metal goods. Although the blacksmith offered a very important service to the Bedouin, no Bedouin--not even the members of the most lowly tribe such as the Sulubba--would allow his children to marry into a blacksmith's family.

Among the Rwalla tribes, the Sulubba occupied an outcaste status. Their status was so low that other Bedouin often considered Sulubba sub-human. The other Bedouins considered the Sulubba too inferior to fight and the Sulubba seldom fought other tribes. The Sulubba paid tribute to <u>all</u> other tribes for protection.

When a Bedouin from one tribe visited among other Bedouins, the individual was dignified, quiet, and very well mannered. However, when visiting the Sulubba camp, he shouted, bullied, and cursed his hosts. He demanded the best food, complained that the food was terrible, then demanded more food. The Sulubba responded to every wish and behaved in a childish, whining fashion.

The low status of the Sulubba may be related to their livelihood. They were hunters and did small tasks for other Bedouins. The more wealthy were shepherds, but their most common possession was donkeys. In order to avoid unwelcome guests, the Sulubba pitched their camps behind hills and in the beds of ravines.

This description of Rwalla culture demonstrates how complex a folk culture can become in terms of social class and caste. We have noticed that a

seemingly simple folk culture was much more complex when examined closely. We might also compare the Rwalla with the Yahgan or Arunta in terms of technology and material wealth. The Rwalla Bedouins had a higher level of technology and were able to store wealth or material goods.

Furthermore, the Rwalla were dependent upon other groups of people for goods necessary for living. Unlike the Arunta and Yahgan, the Rwalla Bedouin was not totally self-sufficient. These differences help explain in part the existence of classes and castes in Rwalla society, and the lack of social stratification in Arunta and Yahgan society. Finally, we should be aware of the fact that the Rwalla society contained both social classes and castes.

Somali. Caste-like groups are not uncommon among folk cultures. Among the Somali herders in Somaliland there are three caste-like groups--Midgaans, Tumaals and Yibirs. The Midgaans make leather goods such as prayer mats, saddles, and sandals. They are also barbers in towns. The Yibirs also carry on leatherwork and are widely known as sorcerers. The Tumaals are metalworkers. Their work includes a wide range of metalworking skills from making spearheads and repairing rifles to body repair work on automobiles. None of these groups is allowed to marry into Somali families. All three of these groups were once bondsmen of Somali families. Their former servile status as well as their present occupations may explain why these groups are outcastes of Somali society.

Rwanda. The Rwanda caste system (Republic of the Congo) is made up of three castes--the Tutsi, Hutu and Twa. This caste system is related to three things. First, a person's caste membership is based upon the group into which he is born. Each of the caste groups is also a racial group. The Tutsi are Nilotic Negro, the Hutu are Forest Negro, and the Twa are Pygmy. Second, caste membership is related to occupation. Finally, a person's caste is related to whom he may marry.

The social system of the Rwanda is set up in a ranked, hierarchical (top to bottom) pattern. The Tutsi are herdsmen and represent the elite caste. Originally they were warriors when they first migrated into the area as conquerors. Today they represent the ruling power in the territory. The Tutsi are a good example of how conquest by one group over others can result in a hierarchical class pattern.

The Hutu are farmers and make up the middle caste. The Hutu were responsible to the Tutsi for providing economic goods. Although intercaste marriages were uncommon, Hutu men with political ambitions on rare occasions married a Tutsi girl. Such a marriage greatly increased the status of a Hutu.

The lowest social caste is the Twa. The Twa caste is divided into two groups based upon job status. One group consists of hunters and gatherers. The other group consists of potters who live among the Hutu and Tutsi. Neither Tutsi nor Hutu have close social relationships with the Twa.

Tahitians. The Tahitians of Polynesia have a class system which is similar in many ways to the social class system found in some European countries where the concept of nobility is still alive. The Tahitians have three main classes. The aristocracy or ruling class is made up of political, social, and religious leaders and represents the more wealthy class. They have names or titles of nobility. Their children inherit these titles. A middle class is made up of persons with lesser rank. Finally, a majority of the people make up a third class of commoners.

Summary

Thus far, we have examined folk cultures in regard to class and caste. It has been noted that some cultures have classless societies. Two classless societies are the Arunta and Yahgan.

These societies do not have those conditions which might lead to classes or castes. No man is wealthier than another in these societies. The societies have no ruling hierarchy. All men have the same occupation--hunting. The best way to explain the classless society is to conclude the following: a society is classless when there are no factors in the culture which make for status differences.

However, not all folk cultures are classless. Folk cultures whose members can accumulate and store wealth and have occupational specialities establish class and caste systems. Even in cultures where only very few differences in occupation exist, strong class differences develop.

Quite often the more powerful group occupies a higher class than the weaker groups. Among the Rwalla this power of conquest led to class differences and even created an outcaste group, the Sulubba. Among the Rwanda, the Tutsi occupy the highest social status because they were previously the conquerors of the other groups.

From this and other examples we can conclude that once the factors emerge which allow social classes to appear, societies do not hesitate to establish social barriers and emphasize social differences. In some cases classes emerge. At other times castes develop. It is possible to have both classes and castes in one culture.

At this time we shall examine in greater depth the caste systems of India and Japan. This will give us a greater understanding of social castes. Furthermore, we shall see how some caste systems maintain themselves and how others can change toward a class system.

The Caste System in Two Large Cultures

A caste system is a closed social system. An individual has an ascribed status which is usually unchangeable. This means that social mobility is almost impossible. Unlike classes, castes are sharply defined. A person in a caste knows his place in society. He knows what is expected of him by the society. Under a caste system marriage is generally limited to persons within the same caste group. A major underlying assumption of the caste system is that men are not born equal, and must remain at a relatively inferior or superior social level their entire lives.

The Continuation of a Caste Tradition: India

India probably provides the most striking example of a caste society. According to the Hindu religion there were originally four castes. In order of rank, these castes were the Brahmins (priests), Kshatriyas (warriors and civil servants), Vaishyas (farmers, merchants), and the Sudras (servants). Eventually, the castes divided into many other castes at the same social level. Today there are thousands of caste groups. A fifth caste level emerged when newcomers did not fit in even the lowest caste. Members of this new caste are called untouchables.

A major factor of this caste system is the idea of pollution. Persons involved in certain occupations which are considered impure or polluted belong to the untouchable caste. Such occupations include laundermen, midwives, washroom attendants, undertakers, tanners, and shoemakers among others. This belief divided the untouchables from the touchables. Occupations are directly related to the caste system.

There are different levels of untouchables. Depending upon their particular caste, they may approach touchables at a certain distance without causing religious pollution. Some may come within a few feet of a Brahmin without causing pollution. Others can pollute a Brahmin from about 100 feet away.

Depending on the community, the lowest untouchable may be a cobbler, a washerman, or some other lower occupation. One of the lowest occupations

is that of the Purada Vannan who wash the clothes of untouchables. At one time these people were considered so lowly that the mere sight of them was considered enough to cause pollution. As a result they moved about outdoors only at night.

The caste system of India is not inflexible in terms of adjusting to new situations. As new occupations develop in industry, the caste system finds a way to classify them within a particular caste. Sometimes untouchables seek ways to escape their caste status. One way has been to change occupations or move into the large cities. This is often difficult because one must be trained in other jobs and have the money to move.

A second and recently more popular method of attempting to escape this caste status has been to convert to Christianity. Nevertheless, the change of religion is no guarantee that attitudes toward castes will change. Although Christianity has its greatest appeal for Hindus of lower castes, a number of upper caste Hindus have converted to Christianity. One such group is the Reddis who are referred to as Christian Reddis when they convert.

The Reddis rank quite high in the caste system. G. P. Reddy studied the Christian Reddis in 1967 and reported that changing to Christianity does not break the barriers of the caste system. The attitudes of the Christian Reddis do not change. They still treat certain groups as untouchables. They even treat those who are Christians, but who were once members of a lower caste, as untouchables. Even in church, Christian Reddis do not pray next to converts of a lower caste. Reddy concluded that "Christianity has no doubt changed certain aspects of culture of convert Reddis, but still some old traits continue to exist among them . . . "

On occasion untouchables become so frustrated that rioting breaks out. The Indian government has been attempting to break down some of the barriers between castes since the mid-1950s. Nevertheless, seventy million untouchables have still been kept apart from the mainstream of social interaction. In November 1968, the Indian Parliament established a special committee to insure the welfare of these people.

The caste system is still the major organizing force in Indian society. It is based upon religious beliefs and the relationship between belief and occupation. The caste system of India is the best known but it is not the only social system based upon castes. Caste systems exist in Africa, the U.S.A., Japan and other areas. Castes may be based on racial or national differences as well as religion and occupation.

Change from Caste to Class

Japan. Japan is an example of social change. About 150 years ago Japanese society was divided into castes based on heredity. At the top of the social system were the aristocrats or Samurai. The Samurai were not only the highest caste, but they were also the political leaders of Japan. This group numbered only about two million out of a total population of about thirty-three million.

Below the Samurai came the commoners. The class of commoners was made up of farmers, fishermen, and foresters. They numbered about twenty-nine million. The commoner class was subdivided into two general groups. One group consisted of those just mentioned. The lower subdivision was made up of persons who specialized in small handicrafts. Although a Samurai might refer to commoners as one large group, a fisherman or farmer would be more conscious of the lower status of a person involved in handicrafts.

Below these classes were a number of outcaste groups. These outcastes might be called the untouchables of Japan. One of the lowest and largest outcaste groups was the Eta. The Eta had occupations which other Japanese considered disgusting, such as butchering and leather working. They were confined to living in certain areas. They were even denied the rights of commoners. The Eta could not marry outside their group. They could not own land or change to a less degrading occupation.

The Japanese were very conscious of their social status. The commoners received less education. They were quick to learn their place in society. In fact, if a commoner did not show proper etiquette toward a Samurai, the Samurai had the right to chop off the commoner's head. Japanese society before 1868 was a caste society where birth and occupation determined a person's social status permanently. In the last hundred years, however, the caste structure has completely changed.

The social structure of present-day Japan resembles that of the United States. At the upper-upper level is an old aristocracy whose former dominance is challenged by the newly rich class. No longer is heredity a major factor. Wealth, occupation, and level of education overshadow the old standards for classifying persons into classes. Today, the upper class is composed largely of professional and wealthy commercial people.

Below this upper class are landowning farmers, shop owners, and then fishermen who own their boats. The lowest class is made up of unskilled laborers or the poor and unemployed. Persons in the lower classes can move upward if they get more education or a higher paying job.

Although Japan's social structure is mainly a class system, some minority groups are still segregated from the mainstream of Japanese society. The Eta were given equal rights in 1868 according to law. However, in 1969--over 100 years later--prejudiced attitudes and discrimination against the Eta are still common. Many Japanese have never seen an Eta. Yet they often stereotype the Eta as "dirty, dangerous and diseased." In reality, the Eta look like any other Japanese citizen.

Europe. Often political and economic changes affect the social system of a society. The feudal system in Medieval Europe was, for the most part, a caste society. The upper class consisted of nobles and the more powerful members of the clergy. At the opposite end of the social ladder came serfs and then slaves. Serfs were bound to the soil. They worked the land on an estate and provided other services for the nobility.

One way to escape from serfdom was to flee to a city. If the serf remained at large for a year and a day, he would be declared a freeman. As the feudal system in Europe began to break down and industrialization grew, the caste system weakened. One of the last places where serfs were set free by law was in Russia in 1860.

The interaction of political reform and industrialization has transformed the caste system of Europe into a class system similar to that of the United States--a class system based on wealth. The increasing affluence of European workers and increasing educational opportunities will add to European social mobility.

Nevertheless, certain traditions of aristocracy will linger in Europe which in the United States never became a part of the social-political structure. One major difference is that in America there is no relationship between any former nobility and today's upper class. In Europe the upper class still includes a number of people whose ancestors were members of the old nobility or aristocracy.

Summary

From this study we find that class structures do change. The rate of change may vary. Some changes may take hundreds of years. Other changes may take only a generation or two. From what we have seen, it appears that even though changes from a caste to a class system have taken place, one can still find elements of the old caste system in the newer class system.

Traces of the caste system are even found in the United States which is popularly described as an open society. In the following section we turn our attention to social classes in America.

Class and Caste in the U. S. A.

General Classification

The social system in the United States is very complex. Although wealth is the major factor in determining class membership, a number of other factors is involved. Some of these factors are occupation, income, place of residence, education, life style, and race. Furthermore, all of these factors are related to one another to some degree.

There is another reason why it is difficult to generalize about American society. The United States is composed of large numbers of racial, ethnic, and religious groups of people who live together in their own sub-culture. Although wealth may still be the major factor in determining class status, the values of the sub-culture might dictate other criteria for social classification. For example, in the Hasidic Jewish communities of Williamsburg, a section of New York City, social class is based upon religious observance, education, lineage, and professional affiliation. In this case, wealth is a relatively minor factor.

Regardless of the fact that American society is complex, some general classifications have been observed. Generally speaking, there are three major classes--upper, middle, and lower class. Each class can be subdivided as follows:

UPPER CLASS	Upper Upper Class
	Lower Upper Class
MIDDLE CLASS	Upper Middle Class
	Middle Middle Class
	Lower Middle Class
LOWER CLASS	Upper Lower Class
	Lower Lower Class

In terms of wealth, the upper class usually consists of the very wealthy. The middle class includes those people who are also quite wealthy and those who have some wealth but not much. The range of income may vary from $5,000 for lower middle class persons to over $20,000 for some of those in the upper middle class. The lower class consist of the very poor. In many cases these people have very little or no income and must receive government aid.

However, classes are not marked off from each other in any distinct manner. American classes are imperfect. For example, a garbage collector's occupational status is quite low. A school teacher's occupational status falls somewhere within the middle class. Yet, in some cases, a garbage collector earns more than a teacher. Similarly, a cross country truck driver may earn $15,000 or more a year which may be more or about the same as a medical doctor.

Another thing which makes class differences somewhat vague is that it is often impossible to tell a person's class membership by the way he is dressed. A European, observing American culture and society, concluded that people from working class (semi-skilled and skilled laboring forces) families dress with such taste that you cannot tell them from upper class persons.

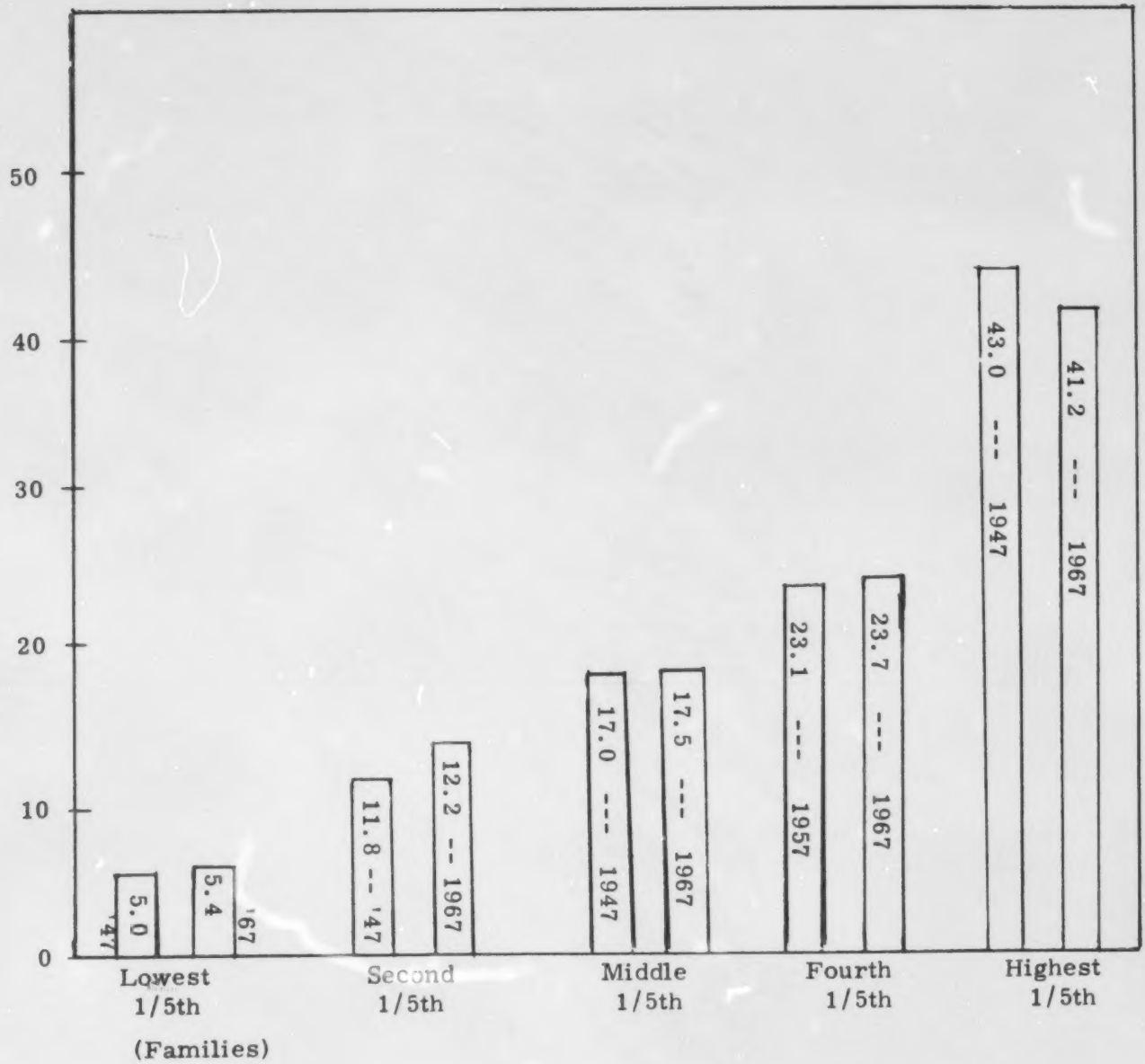
Furthermore, the values and behavior patterns of Americans are often the same. The values of upper class Americans and those in the lower class are generally middle class. Quite often, stereotyping leads to a distortion of the true situation due to overemphasizing other differences. Although differences do exist, classes in America are imperfect and often times difficult to distinguish.

American society has had a reputation for high school mobility. Around the turn of the century, the "rags to riches" theme was popular among the native born as well as immigrants. For the majority, however, the attainment of riches proved to be illusory. Notwithstanding the fact that mass affluence is fairly recent, Americans have perceived themselves as living in a highly mobile, almost classless society. However, most Americans remain in the same social class as their fathers. Increasing incomes have raised the standard of living without substantially changing the pattern of income distribution.

The relationship of the unequal distribution of income to class development is shown in Figures 1A, 1B, and 1C. Figure 1A, for example, shows that on the lower extreme, 20 percent of families receive 5 percent of aggregate income whereas 20 percent of the families at the upper extreme receive 40 percent of the income.

FIGURE 1A

PERCENTAGE OF AGGREGATE INCOME
RECEIVED BY FAMILIES,
1947 and 1967

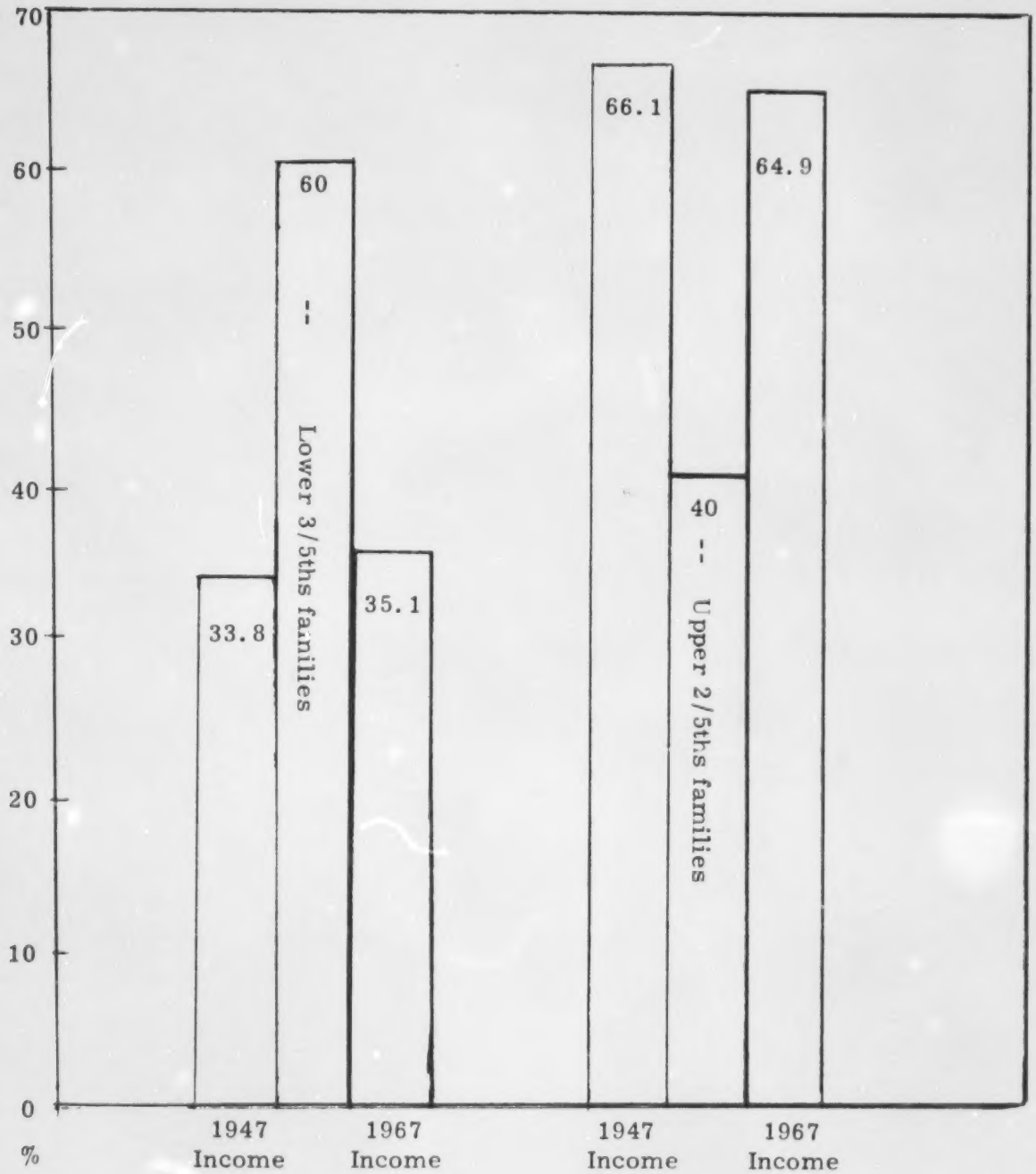


SOURCE: Statistical Abstract of the U.S., 1970, Table No. 412, page 322.

[60]

FIGURE 1B

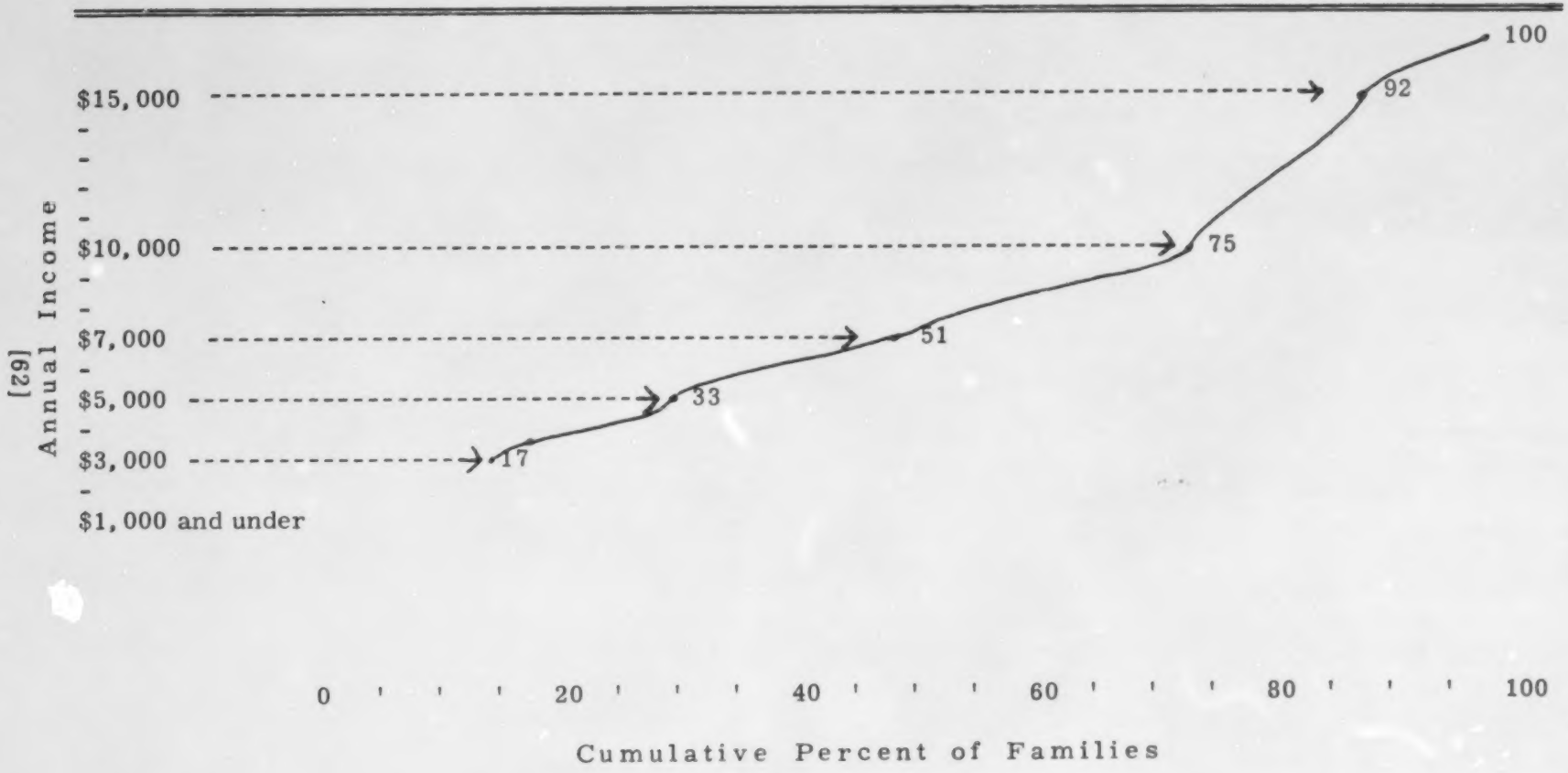
PERCENTAGE OF AGGREGATE INCOME RECEIVED BY
THE LOWER THREE-FIFTHS AND UPPER TWO-FIFTHS OF FAMILIES,
1947 and 1967



SOURCE: Statistical Abstract of the U.S., 1970, Table No. 472, p. 322.

FIGURE 1C

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONTINUUM BASED ON FAMILY INCOME IN 1965



[29]

SOURCE: Statistical Abstract of the U. S., 1968, Table No. 473, p. 334.

Figure 1B indicates that 60 percent of families have 35 percent of the income whereas 40 percent of the families have 65 percent of the aggregate income.

Figure 1C indicates that the socio-economic continuum is not continuous but takes the form of a skewed cumulative frequency curve. A smaller number of higher income families receive a much larger proportion of the available income. With this distribution of wealth, it is easy to understand why social classes so frequently take the form of a pyramid, with the lower classes constituting a wide base and the upper class a small peak.

Earlier in this chapter we referred to status and mobility in American society. This section reviews what was mentioned earlier and then examines American society more closely. We shall be concerned with the factors which determine status and the effects of class on life chances and life style. Finally we shall examine the caste status of the Negro American.

How Status is Determined

The Middle Class Stereotype. Between 1950 and 1970, American society began undergoing massive changes. One change was the increase in the number of suburbs. Along with the expansion of suburbs was an expansion of income and an increase in the number of individuals in middle class income brackets. Americans, however, have always tended to think of themselves as middle class.

In 1940, Fortune magazine reported that 70 percent of the U.S. population surveyed identified with the middle class. Seven percent identified with the upper class, and 22 percent identified themselves as belonging to the lower class. This view of belonging to the middle class was far from reality. At the time of the Fortune survey, about 50 percent of the American population had a yearly income of under $1,000. Forty-six percent of the population employed were in semi-skilled and unskilled positions. Furthermore, in 1935, only about 3 percent of the total U.S. population earned over $5,000 a year. But, regardless of the actual situation, most Americans saw themselves as members of the middle class.

The stereotype of the middle class American is positive. The middle class member is seen as hard working, educated, and dedicated to family, community, and nation. This stereotype has been widely used by television programs. Programs such as Family Affair, My Three Sons, Petticoat Junction, That Girl, Julia, and the Doris Day Show are just a few examples of television's use of the stereotype of middle class America. One interesting example of the variety of ways programs deal with such stereotypes is the

program Julia. This program places a fatherless Negro family in a middle class setting. In this case the authors of the script have selected a middle class stereotype over the stereotype of the Negro American.

In recent years, however, the middle class has come under increasing attack as a class oriented toward material success. In some groups, middle class is a derogatory term often used synonymously with "The Establishment" and "The System"--terms which imply lack of interest in the general welfare of all people, especially that of the poor and of minority groups.

Socio-Economic Status. Social status in American society is often referred to as socio-economic status. This term, socio-economic, points up the importance of wealth in attaining high social status. A person's socio-economic status can be seen as a point along a continuum. As the individual increases his wealth, he moves on the continuum toward the right, thereby increasing his status.

However, there is a concept of which one should be aware. This is the concept of relative deprivation. It is very common to hear people say something like, "Those poor people are better off now than ever before. So why aren't they satisfied?" The concept of relative deprivation offers one explanation: although an individual's socio-economic situation may improve, this improvement is not noticed or felt if the rest of society is improving at the same or a faster rate. If the mass of society is improving at a faster rate, the individual may actually feel that his situation is getting worse rather than better. In a relative sense, this is true.

Keeping in mind the meaning of relative deprivation is a major factor in understanding the situation of the very poor in the United States. This is especially true when we consider the problems of minority groups such as the Spanish-speaking Americans in the Southwest, the Puerto Ricans in the Northeast, and the Negro Americans throughout the nation.

Occupation. Occupation plays a major role in determining class status. A person's occupation is closely related to and often affects other variables related to social status. A person's occupation carries with it a value judgment by other members of society. If an individual's occupation is judged as highly respectable, the individual's prestige is increased. Occupation is also directly related to income, power, and authority. Occupation is directly related to possessions and wealth a person can acquire. There is also a relationship between occupation and education. It is no wonder that occupation has received a great deal of attention in attempting to determine social class.

People tend to rank occupations in terms of prestige. In one study it was found that government officials (i.e., Supreme Court justice, U.S. Congressman, diplomat) were on the average the most highly ranked by a cross section sample of American society. Following government officials came professional and semi-professional workers such as physicians, lawyers, and teachers. At the lower end of the scale came janitors, share-croppers, garbage collectors, and shoe shiners.

While some occupations carry high prestige notwithstanding lower income than provided by employment in business or industry, the prestige of a job and income are closely related. The following table shows that higher prestige is related to higher income.

Prestige			Income
(highest)	1.	Professional and technical workers	(highest)
	2.	Managers, proprietors, business officials	
	3.	Salesworkers	
	4.	Clerical workers	
	5.	Laborers	
(lowest)	6.	Farm laborers	(lowest)

Education. Education plays a major role in allowing a person to attain a high income occupation. On the average, individuals with more education have higher prestige jobs and higher incomes.

Chances are good that at some time during your life you will hear someone say, "It pays to get a good education." In America this statement is very true indeed. The following table illustrates this fact quite well. It compares average earnings of elementary school graduates and high school graduates by occupation in 1959. The third column in the table shows the difference in income between the two. Thus, a brick layer with a high school education earned $1,200 more than his fellow worker with only an elementary school education. (See Figure 2)

It should be noted that these figures refer only to white men. Non-whites in 1959 earned less. For example, a nonwhite carpenter earned $3,800 on the average if he had an elementary education. The nonwhite carpenter who had graduated from high school had an average income of $4,500 as compared to $6,100 for the white carpenter. Racial prejudice accounts for this difference. It is for this reason that such tables often report income for whites and blacks separately, as shown in Figure 3.

FIGURE 2

THE EFFECT OF EDUCATION ON INCOME
FOR WHITE JOBHOLDERS, 1959

Occupation	Income of Elementary School Graduate	Income of High School Graduate	Difference in Income of High School Graduate
Bricklayer	$ 5,100	$ 6,300	$ 1,200
Carpenter	4,800	5,700	900
Electrician	6,100	6,600	500
Mechanic	5,000	5,900	900
Painter	4,400	5,100	700
Plumber	5,700	6,700	1,000
Bus driver	4,400	5,400	1,000

SOURCE: Herman P. Miller, Rich Man, Poor Man (New York: New American Library, 1964), pp. 160-161.

FIGURE 3

THE EFFECT OF EDUCATION ON INCOME OF WHITES AND NONWHITES EMPLOYED IN 1968

OCCUPATION AND COLOR	Median Income by Years of School Completed			
	Less Than 8 Years	1-3 Years of High School	4 Years of High School	Median School Years Completed
Blue collar workers:				
White	5,800	6,550	7,000	11.5
Nonwhite	3,900	4,450	5,400	9.9
Craftsmen:				
White	6,450	7,300	7,750	12.0
Nonwhite	4,900	5,650	6,300	10.5
Operatives:				
White	5,650	6,200	6,400	11.3
Nonwhite	4,100	4,650	5,350	10.3
Nonfarm laborers:				
White	4,450	4,950	4,900	10.0
Nonwhite	3,400	3,350	4,450	8.8
Service workers:				
White	4,300	4,900	6,050	12.0
Nonwhite	3,350	3,400	4,450	10.4

NOTE: The average income of nonwhite college graduate men was $7,750 as compared to $10,500 for white college graduate men in 1967.

SOURCE: Elizabeth Waldman, "Educational Attainment of Workers," Monthly Labor Review, vol. 92, no. 2 (February 1969): 22.

The amount of schooling a person attains is directly related to how much income he earns. Figure 4 demonstrates this fact in detail. Figure 4 also indicates job discrimination against Negroes in the American economy. Negroes are not only concentrated in the lower paying jobs because of less education but, even where education is equivalent, the Negro job holder receives less pay than his white counterpart. Negro workers with a grade school education received some $1,000 less than white workers with a grade school education. For college graduates, median income showed $2,000 difference between Negroes and whites.

Other Factors Related to Social Class Status

Family background. Other factors which determine a person's social class status include ethnic origins, religion, and race. Classification into a particular class also depends upon location of residence, membership in various organizations, and family background. Of these, race, religion, and family background play an important part in a person's ability to move into certain class levels.

In some communities the upper class is divided on the basis of family background. There are those who have inherited a prestigious family history and high social status. These are referred to as members of the old aristocracy. Those individuals who have worked their way into the upper class from a lower class are referred to as the new aristocracy.

In some cases the line is a sharp division, but as time passes the new aristocracy may slowly break into the upper upper old aristocracy. Eventually the new aristocracy takes on characteristics of the old aristocracy. As newcomers emerge in the lower upper class or new aristocracy, the cycle repeats itself. One way a person breaks into the old aristocracy is through marriage.

Racial and religious prejudice. Racial and religious prejudices have been barriers to class mobility. In some communities Catholics and Jews found themselves unable to move into restricted neighborhoods or to join certain social clubs, membership in which offered high prestige. A number of country clubs throughout the U.S.A. still maintain such barriers. The New York Athletic Club, the Merchants Club of New York, and the Missouri Athletic Club are a few examples of clubs which in the past have barred people because of their race and religion. In each of these cases the clubs have high social prestige.

FIGURE 4

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES BY INCOME, YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED, AND COLOR OF HEAD, 1967

COLOR OF HEAD AND INCOME LEVEL	YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED					
	Elementary School		High School		College	
	Less than 8 Years	8 Years	1 - 3 Years	4 Years	1 - 3 Years	4 Years or More
WHITE FAMILIES:						
Under $3,000	28.5%	17.1%	9.5%	5.3%	5.0%	3.3%
$3,000 to $4,999	22.3	17.2	12.5	8.6	5.7	3.4
$5,000 to $6,999	17.6	19.4	18.2	15.9	11.3	6.7
$7,000 to $9,999	18.0	24.0	28.3	29.7	25.7	17.7
$10,000 to $14,999	9.8	16.3	23.6	28.8	32.5	32.2
$15,000 and over	4.1	6.0	8.1	11.7	19.9	36.1
Median Income	$4,932	$6,608	$7,971	$8,962	$10,277	$12,770
NONWHITE FAMILIES:						
Under $3,000	40.3%	28.4%	25.1%	14.1%	8.8%	4.4%
$3,000 to $4,999	24.5	22.9	23.9	19.4	8.8	7.7
$5,000 to $6,999	16.1	19.2	18.2	20.2	18.2	10.2
$7,000 to $9,999	11.4	16.4	17.9	22.4	27.4	24.5
$10,000 to $14,999	5.3	9.3	11.2	17.6	26.0	28.4
$15,000 and over	2.5	4.1	3.7	6.3	10.7	24.6
Median Income	$3,670	$4,897	$5,083	$6,665	$8,189	$10,485

SOURCE: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, no. 59. Quoted in The American Almanac: U. S. Book of Facts, Statistics and Information for 1970, prepared by the Bureau of Census (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, September 1969), p. 325.

FIGURE 5

MEDIAN INCOME OF FAMILIES BY YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED AND COLOR OF HEAD, 1967

COLOR OF HEAD	INCOME BY YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED					
	Less Than 8 Years	8 Years	9 - 11 Years	12 Years	13 - 15 Years	16 or more Ye
White	$4,932	$6,608	$7,971	$8,962	$10,277	$12,770
Nonwhite	3,670	4,897	5,083	6,665	8,189	10,485

SOURCE: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, no. 59. Quoted in The American Almanac: U.S. Book of Facts, Statistics and Information for 1970, prepared by the Bureau of Census (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, September 1969), p. 325.

(NOTE: This table should be a line graph or bar graph.)

Some hotels and resorts which cater to upper class patrons are also known to discriminate on the basis of religion and race. These practices tend to prevent class mobility to some degree. When only upper class Christians can belong to a certain country club or vacation at a particular resort, the results tend to create an elite in-group in terms of social class with an emphasis on religion and race.

Another barrier related to social class concerns employment. According to one study, bankers maintain a prestige status just below that of a United States representative in the federal Congress. In 1936, magazine researchers reported that the number of Jews employed in banks was almost nonexistent. By 1960 the situation had changed slightly. Discrimination in employment due to race and religion is still prevalent, although now against the law. Even as late as 1970, some school districts still considered race and religion as factors in employing teachers.

The Effect of Class on Life Chances

The United States is the wealthiest nation in the world with the highest per capita income. Nevertheless, there were about 26 million poor Americans in 1967. At that time, about one in eight people in this nation was living in poverty.

Figure 6 indicates that while there were over twice as many poor whites as nonwhites in 1967, the rate of poverty was three times higher among nonwhites.

Children reared in poor families do not have the opportunities of children reared in families that have higher incomes. In 1963, there were twelve and a half million of these poor children between the ages of 5 and 19. Figure 7 shows who these children were. The poorest children in the United States are Indian children who for over a century, have been wards of the United States. The incidence of rural poverty is higher than urban poverty, although there are more urban poor.

The life chances of these people differ sharply from the life chances of people in the middle and upper classes. Life chance refers to the opportunity of obtaining those things which a particular society values as good. For example, we might explore the life chances of people for living long, healthy lives, enjoying a high standard of living, and obtaining a good education and occupation.

Health and Survival. The first question we might examine is, what differences exist between classes concerning health? In 1936, Robert M. Woodbury reported that infants born to families in the poorest socio-economic class had a mortality rate three times greater than other babies in the first year of life.[2] If a child from a poor, lower class family does survive infancy, chances are that he will be ill more often than individuals in the middle or upper classes.

While there has been a decline in infant mortality, as shown in Figure 8, the nonwhite infant mortality rate in 1967 was almost twice that of whites. This differential in infant mortality reflects the inadequate prenatal and post-natal care that poor families receive. In 1967, 35 percent of nonwhite families were poor compared to 10 percent of white families. (See Figure 6).

Even in warfare, men from lower socio-economic conditions have higher death rates than men from higher socio-economic conditions (See Figure 9). This is explained by the fact that poor people have less education and are less likely to be selected for specialist training. They are more likely to remain privates and to be subject to combat assignments. Those with higher educations are more likely to receive training which leads to assignments outside the combat zone.

There are no mortality tables which relate life expectancy and socio-economic status. However, Figure 10 shows the life expectancy of whites and nonwhites. The shorter life expectancy of Negroes is another indication of their depressed economic status. Life itself--food, housing, medical care, and other amenities of living--costs money.

As mentioned earlier, poor people suffer from higher rates of illness than the wealthy. For example, in San Antonio, Texas, between 1948 and 1950, one in every 2,800 whites died of tuberculosis. For Negroes and Mexican Americans, who made up the largest poverty group, the death rate was one out of every 1,026. Tuberculosis is a communicable disease which thrives in deprived, overcrowded, unsanitary conditions. The particular ethnic or racial characteristic of a group living in poverty does not change the fact that poor living conditions breed poor health. In the mid-1800s in New York, Irish, Germans, and Jews lived in slums. A large percentage of the deaths in these groups were from diseases common to poverty areas today. These were tuberculosis, typhus, typhoid, pneumonia and bronchitis. The Irish, for example, made up 54 percent of the total population of New York but accounted for 85 percent of the admissions of new immigrants to the city hospital.

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[2]Robert M. Woodbury, "Infant Mortality in the United States," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, vol. 188 (November 1936): 102-104. Cited in W. F. Ogburn and Meyer F. Nimkoff, Sociology, 4th ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1964), p. 440.

FIGURE 6

POOR PERSONS, NUMBER AND PERCENT IN 1967

POOR PERSONS	NUMBER IN MILLIONS	PERCENT
All poor persons	26.1	13.4% of total population
Whites	17.8	10.3% of white population
Nonwhites	8.4	35.4% of nonwhite population

SOURCE: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P660, no. 55 and unpublished data in The American Almanac: U.S. Book of Facts, Statistics and Information, p. 328.

FIGURE 7

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 12.5 MILLION POOR CHILDREN IN THE U.S.

CHARACTERISTICS	PERCENT OF ALL POOR CHILDREN	NUMBER IN MILLIONS
Urban--20% of urban children	60	7.5
Rural--28% of rural children	40	5.0
Color		
Rural white--24% of rural white children are "poor"	31	5.0
Rural Negro--60% of rural Negro children are "poor"	9	1.2
Regional Distribution		
South		
40% of rural Southern children are "poor" (62% of the rural "poor" in the country)	24	3.1
Northeast, North Central and West		
19% of rural children from these regions are "poor" (38% of the rural "poor in the country)	16	1.9
Other Ethnic Subgroups Which are Mainly Rural (counted as "white" in the figures given above)		
Spanish-Americans of the Southwest Assume 35% are "poor"	4.0	0.5
Indian children on, or near, Reservations Assume 60% are "poor"	0.8	0.10
Indian children NOT on, or near Reservations Assume 80% are "poor"	0.3	0.04

SOURCE: Robert J. Havighurst in South Central Region Educational Laboratory, Education for the Culturally Disadvantaged (Proceedings of the National Conference on Educational Objectives for the Culturally Disadvantaged, 1967), p. 9.

FIGURE 8

INFANT DEATH RATES BY COLOR, FROM 1940 TO 1967

COLOR	INFANT DEATHS BY 1,000 BIRTHS			
	1940	1950	1960	1967
White	43.2	26.8	22.9	19.7
Nonwhite	73.8	44.5	43.2	35.9

SOURCE: Statistical Abstract of the U.S., 1970, Table No. 70, p. 55.

FIGURE 9

SAMPLE OF KOREAN WAR CASUALTIES
AND INCOME GROUP

Median Income	Casualty Rate	
	Per 10,000	Percentage
Under $2,500	14.6	21.6
$2,500 - $3,499	19.9	29.4
$3,500 - $4,499	16.1	23.8
$4,500 - $5,499	12.4	18.3
$5,500 and over	4.6	6.4

SOURCE: Albert J. Mayer and Thomas Ford Hoult, "Social Stratification and Combat Survival," Social Forces vol. 34 (December 1955): 155-159. Cited in W. F. Ogburn and Meyer F. Nimkoff, Sociology, 4th ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1964), p. 441.

FIGURE 10

LIFE EXPECTANCY AT BIRTH, BY RACE AND SEX
1950 TO 1967

RACE AND SEX	LIFE EXPECTANCY AT BIRTH IN YEARS		
	1950	1960	1967
White male	66.5	67.4	67.8
White female	72.2	74.1	75.1
Black male	59.1	61.1	61.1
Black female	62.9	66.3	68.2

SOURCE: Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Public Health Service, Annual Report: Vital Statistics of the United States. Cited in The American Almanac: The U.S. Book of Facts, Statistics, and Information, prepared by the Bureau of Census (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1969), p. 53.

The social class status of patients often affects the amount and quality of medical treatment a person receives. A study revealed that lower class people received less treatment for illnesses than middle or upper class people. Furthermore, the length of treatment was shorter for the lower class individual. Another finding of this study showed that therapists held a positive attitude toward nine out of thirteen middle or upper class patients, and showed a dislike or negative attitude toward nine out of twelve poor or lower class patients.

Living Conditions. Closely related to health are living conditions. A person's social status depends, in part, on his place of residence. For example, if you know the city of St. Louis very well and someone tells you where three persons whom he knows live, you can almost immediately stereotype these people with the high probability of being right. If he tells you that a Mr. Cervantes lives on Portland Place, you would immediately associate him with the upper upper class. If another Mr. Cervantes lived on Division Avenue, you would assume that this man was Negro and living in poverty since Division Avenue is in the heart of the St. Louis ghetto. Finally, if he tells you about a Mr. Cervantes who lives on the "Hill" you might stereotype this man as an Italian, since the "Hill" is an Italian cultural pocket in St. Louis.

The conditions of housing among the poor contrast sharply with those of the middle and upper classes. Negro housing, which has been restricted to poor slum areas, gives an example of such conditions. Puerto Rican housing in New York shows similar conditions. Figure 11 tells the story.

FIGURE 11

NONWHITE HOUSING CONDITIONS IN THE U. S. A. IN 1960:

Condition of dwelling	Percentage
Sound, with plumbing	43
Sound, without plumbing	11
Deteriorating	29
Dilapidated	17

PUERTO RICAN HOUSING CONDITIONS IN NEW YORK IN 1960:

Sound	60
Deteriorating	30
Dilapidated	10

SOURCE: Miller, Rich Man, Poor Man, pp. 101, 122.

FIGURE 12

SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF MALE HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES AND DROPOUTS, 1968

CHARACTERISTICS	PERCENT OF HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES	PERCENT OF DROPOUTS
Professional, technical and kindred workers	6.7%	1.1%
Clerical and kindred workers	10.7	4.5
Sales workers	3.5	1.2
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers	17.0	12.7
Operatives and kindred workers	33.6	39.8
Service workers including private household	6.0	7.6
Farm laborers and foremen	3.5	10.7
Laborers, except farm and mine	13.6	21.5
Others	5.4	0.9
Annual Family Income		
White:		
Less than $3,000	5.9	20.6
$3,000 to $4,999	10.9	23.1
$5,000 to $7,499	22.4	24.7
$7,500 and over	60.7	31.6
Nonwhite:		
Less than $3,000	22.4	41.0
$3,000 to $4,999	23.5	33.5
$5,000 to $7,499	26.9	17.6
$7,500 and over	27.2	7.9

SOURCE: Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Special Labor Force Report nos. 68, 85, 100. Cited in The American Almanac: The U.S. Book of Facts, Statistics, and Information, p. 110.

If we compare housing for whites in New York with Negro and Puerto Rican housing, we find that 87 percent of the white dwellings are sound and only 2 percent dilapidated. For Negroes and Puerto Ricans, 63 percent are sound and about 10 percent dilapidated. In the Southwest, more Spanish Americans suffer from poor housing than do whites. In areas like Appalachia there are white families whose housing is equally poor, if not more so.

In 1966, 10 percent of all housing units in the United States were classified as dilapidated. However, dilapidated housing was almost four times higher among nonwhites than whites, 29 percent compared to 8 percent. In the six year interval, between 1960 and 1966, there was no improvement in overall housing conditions for nonwhites.

The following description of an Indian family in the slum area of Minnesota can apply to urban families regardless of race or ethnic background:

> One family living in two rooms will take in relatives and friends who come from outlying areas seeking jobs until about fifteen people will be packed into the relatively small space. In one case, sixteen persons, including the aged and infants, were found in an unventilated attic room with only clothing, blankets, and an electric plate.[3]

In the past this description applied to the Irish, Germans, Italians, Jews, Chinese, Armenians, Greeks, and others. Today it applies to poor rural whites who have immigrated to the city, Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Spanish-speaking Americans, and other low income groups.

Crime, Law, and Civil Rights. Poverty areas are high crime areas. Poverty breeds crime. Likewise, the percentage of victims of crime is higher among those persons who live at the low socio-economic level. In 1965, families with incomes below $3,000 were victims of more crimes than any other group. Nonwhites suffered more from crime than did whites.

Even before the law and in courts of justice, the poor man stands at a disadvantage. Police quite often tend to show more respect to persons whose appearance is more middle class. They have been found to be prone to arrest poor people more often than the wealthy for minor infractions of the law. This, of course, may be expected. Police, like other members of society, stereotype and therefore tend to consider someone whose appearance is more shabby as a suspect.

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[3]Senior, Clarence. The Puerto Ricans: Strangers--Then Neighbors, (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1965), p. 35.

A good illustration of this involves a woman grocery clerk. She related that a well dressed man about thirty or so came into the store. After browsing around he left. As he walked out, I noticed that he was hiding a bag of pecans under a sweater. I checked the shelf and sure enough he had stolen the last bag of pecans . . . My god! How do you explain that . . . such a fine looking, well dressed man . . . .

Another aspect of the relationship between poverty and law involves legal processes. Although the poor are entitled to public defenders (lawyers who defend without charge), the poorer and less educated often are unaware of their rights. Furthermore, they usually have great difficulty communicating with legal authorities. Fear, a feeling of insecurity, and lack of ability to speak well due to little or no education are barriers in communication. Furthermore, even judges and lawyers (who are usually middle and upper class) cannot always understand the poor or are prejudiced against them.

On the other hand, if one is more wealthy and better educated, he can hire a lawyer. Some lawyers work on the basis that if they win the case they get a larger fee. It is obvious that a lawyer, like anyone else interested in income, will work harder if it means earning more money. Furthermore, the middle class individual can usually communicate, and knows how to handle himself in a court of law better than members of the lower class.

Education. The poor or lower class child usually grows up in a family where the parents have limited education and are caught up in a struggle for economic survival. Often both parents work to support the family or, if the family is broken and the father is gone, the mother serves as the sole financial supporter. Working mothers are often forced to leave children alone without sufficient protection. Most societies have not yet provided necessary facilities, such as day-care centers, which would care for children when parents are forced to be absent from home. In some cases, the mother who both works in the business world and maintains the home may not be able to cope with the demanding situation and cannot offer adequate discipline and guidance to her children. As a result, when children go to school, the teacher, who is usually quite middle class in outlook, becomes a disciplinarian more than a teacher.

Poverty conditions result in poor health. This, too, affects the child's education. High absenteeism from school adds to limiting the education of the child. If he stays in school long enough to enter high school, the poverty condition of an overcrowded home hinders his ability to do homework. Quite often the young adolescent must drop out of school and find a job to help support the family. The result is that poverty often leads to a

poor education. This, in turn, restricts the individual to lower paying occupations. Low income then results in living in poor residential areas, and the cycle begins anew with the next generation.

Summary

The effects of social class on life chances shows a vicious cycle for the poor and a more positive cycle for the middle and upper classes. Middle and upper class children often receive a full education. Many go on to colleges. Their families often provide economic assistance to help them get started. They are healthier on the whole and have greater opportunities from the moment they are born. In the final analysis, these middle class children will most probably be the middle class adults in the future. As for the children of the lower class, the children of poverty, the probability is high that most of them will be in the lower class in the future, as their parents are today.

Social Class and Life Style

The social class of an individual affects not only the conditions under which he lives but also his style of living. By life style we mean the typical way of life of an individual or group of individuals--his attitudes and the expression of these attitudes in a consistent manner from childhood on. Another way of defining life style is in terms of what a person learns, how he behaves, and how he views himself and the world about him.

Social classes have a bearing on membership in different religious denominations. Episcopal, Congregational, and Presbyterian denominations are primarily middle and upper class in membership, while Baptist and Roman Catholic denominations include larger numbers of people from low income groups.

Differences in daily activities are also related to social class. Lower class members associate more with relatives and do not take part in formal organizations as much as upper or middle class people.

There is also a class difference in political orientation: the upper class tends to identify with the Republican Party, while the lower class tends to identify with the Democratic Party.

Social Class and Political Participation. Class status is positively correlated with degree of political participation. This means that persons with middle and upper class incomes are more likely to participate in politics than persons with low incomes. The poor simply do not make their voices heard where it counts--at the polling booths.

In a democracy, the orderly and constitutional means for the expression of public sentiment is through the ballot. Choosing among persons who present alternative choices as to governmental policies and procedures is, for the ordinary citizen, the practical and effective means of political expression. Indignation with government policies expressed in letters, organizational meetings, or street demonstrations may attract temporary newspaper and television coverage, but they do not add up to change in political representation. For this reason, many groups working with the poor now emphasize registration and voting.

According to figures from the Southern Regional Council, Negro registration in the South has increased from a little under 600,000 in 1947 to a little over 3,000,000 in the summer of 1968--a five-fold increase in a twenty-year period. Much of this increase has resulted from special voter education projects and federal legislation designed to facilitate Negro registration. In 1968, however, only 62 percent of the Negro population was registered, compared to 78 percent of the white population.

Actual voting, however, is always less than the number registered. In the 1968 general election in Macon, Georgia, only 50 percent of voters in predominantly black precincts (over three-fourths) voted, compared to 61 percent in black precincts in Atlanta. Negro voters in Atlanta are among the most politically conscious in the country. Here Negro voting exceeded voting from low income white precincts (58 percent), and equalled voting from high income white precincts (61 percent). In general, however, low income and low political participation go hand and hand.

The following figures give data on social characteristics and political involvement. Study these figures carefully to see how many inferences you can make concerning class distinction and political participation. (See Figure 13).

The Power Elite. A certain portion of the upper upper class has often been referred to as the power elite. The people in this group are very few in number. They are characterized by extreme wealth, and come from a long line of families with high prestige. Wealth and family reputation are the key factors in describing the power elite. The word power refers to their ability to influence, and at times control, the decision-making process in a community or nation.

FIGURE 13

SOCIAL CORRELATES OF POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT

HIGH INVOLVEMENT	LOW INVOLVEMENT
Males	Females
Whites	Negroes
35 Years of age and over	Under 35 Years of age
High formal education	Low formal education
High income	Low income
Urban residence	Rural residence
Membership in several organizations	No organizational membership
Occupations:	Occupations:
Professions	Farm workers
Business executives	Unskilled labor
White collar workers	
Skilled labor	

SOURCE: Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1960), p. 184.

FIGURE 14

SOME DEMOGRAPHIC CORRELATES OF A SENSE OF POLITICAL EFFICACY

Demographic Variables	Degree of Political Efficacy				
	High	Medium	Low	Not ascertained	Number of Cases
Sex					
Male	35%	47%	17%	1%	738
Female	20	55	23	2	876
Race					
White	28	53	18	1	1453
Negro	14	36	48	2	157
Age					
21-35 years	27	55	17	1	485
35-44 years	31	52	17	--	381
45-54 years	30	52	17	1	284
55 years and over	22	48	28	3	442
Education					
Grade School	15	49	34	2	660
High School	30	56	13	1	712
College	50	44	6	--	238
Income					
Under $2,000	11	49	38	2	135
$2,000-$2,999	19	54	25	2	255
$3,000-$3,999	25	57	17	1	364
$4,000-$4,999	33	51	16	--	233
$5,000 and over	43	46	10	1	415
Occupation of Head					
Professional and managerial	41	50	8	1	333
Other white collar	39	46	14	1	155
Skilled and semi-skilled	25	57	17	1	462
Unskilled	15	47	37	1	174
Farm operators	13	55	31	1	178
Region					
Northwest	30	53	15	2	390
Midwest	30	50	19	1	580
South	18	49	32	1	440
Far West	30	56	12	2	204
Type of Community					
Metropolitan areas	33	50	15	2	438
Cities and towns	27	51	21	1	928
Open country	16	55	28	1	248

SOURCE: Adapted from Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin, and Warren E. Miller, The Voter Decides (New York: Row, Peterson, 1954), pp. 191-92.

Occasionally the newly rich break into the power elite, although their family background has no trace of the old aristocracy. Likewise, a person whose family once had wealth and high reputation may remain within the power elite although he no longer has the material or financial wealth the family had in the past.

In a small community the power elite might have control over the school board or town planning commission or even the entire local government. If the elite control the major industry in the community this may very well give them the power to control other areas of interest in the community.

In larger cities, the power elite often remains aloof from publicity. Many people believe that the society column in a large city newspaper is presenting the latest news on the upper upper class in general. However, in some cities the power elite prefers to remain out of the limelight, and it is often the lower upper class and that segment of the upper uppers just below the elite that get the publicity. (At the state or national level, the power elite may be another group.)

Social Mobility and Class Barriers

Considering the social inequalities we have cited, one might question whether the United States is as democratic a nation as it seems to be. For that reason we must keep in mind that although poverty and a power elite exist in American society, there is social mobility. Most Americans can overcome class barriers. We might keep in mind that men like Presidents Dwight Eisenhower, Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon, and Vice-President Hubert Humphrey came from middle and lower middle class environments. As long as social mobility remains a characteristic of American mass society, people will continue to move up and down the social ladder.

Unlike Europeans, Americans usually seek better opportunities and higher status than their fathers before them. In European societies, the parents of a child were satisfied if their child would some day have the same general social status (including occupation, educational level, income, and respectability) as they held.

Nevertheless, American society has its barriers to complete social mobility. Ethnic, religious, and racial groups have been held back due to prejudice and injustices. American Indians are probably one of the most discriminated against minorities in the nation. American Negroes, however, have received more national attention.

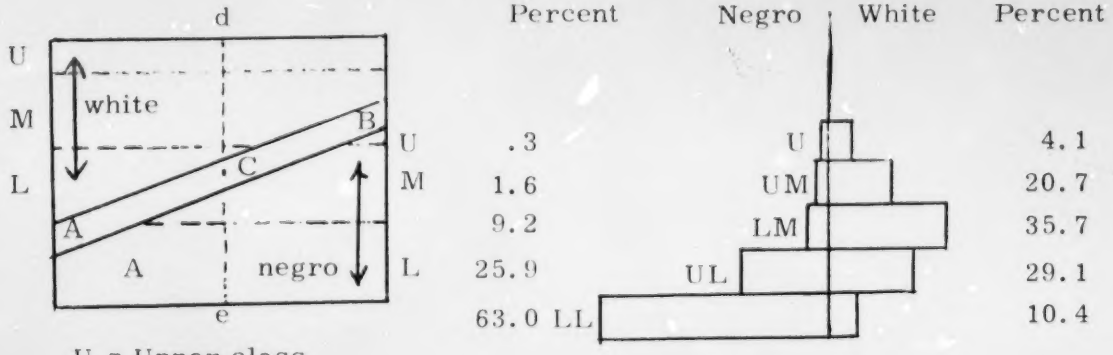
There are twenty million Blacks in the United States and until relatively recently they have lived in what might be best described as a caste society. A Negro might obtain all the characteristics and qualifications to belong to the upper class, but, due to the fact that he is Black, his social status remains below that of a middle class white. Regardless of his effort to proceed upward, he is unable to break the color line or barrier. In recent years this situation is being fought in terms of federal legislation. Nevertheless, a caste system, as such, still exists.

Negroes--an American Caste?

According to some social scientists, the Black population in the United States constitutes a caste. One way of illustrating this concept is given in the diagram below. It will be noted that both the white and Black populations are characterized by class strata, but that these strata do not overlap.

FIGURE 15

CASTE/CLASS STRUCTURES OF THE UNITED STATES



U = Upper class
M = Middle class
L = Lower class
AB = Caste Line
de = Ultimate position of Caste line
C = Axis of Caste line

U = Upper class
UM = Upper middle class
LM = Lower middle class
UL = Upper lower class
LL = Lower lower class

SOURCE: William F. Ogburn and Meyer F. Nimkoff, Sociology (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1958), p. 183.

The figure on the left is Warner's schematic representation. The diagonal lines separate the Negro caste from the white caste, and the broken lines in each segment separate the classes in each caste from one another. The double-headed arrows show that movement does occur up and down the class ladders. However, there is no movement or marriage across caste lines. Since slavery, the caste line has swung on its axis (C), so that the top Negro group is higher in class than the lowest white group. (From W. Lloyd Warner, "American Class and Caste," American Journal of Sociology, 42:234-37, September 1936.)

The right-hand figure shows the reported caste/class composition of "Georgia Town," a market center and county seat in southeast Georgia, with a population of about 5,000 with 30 percent of these Negro. A comparison of the class structure of Georgia Town with an all-Negro community in Oklahoma (not shown here) suggests that in a bi-racial community there is likely to be a larger proportion of lower-class Negroes than in a racially homogeneous community. (From Mozell C. Hill and Bevode C. McCall, "Social Stratification in 'Georgia Town,'" American Sociological Review, 15:721-730, December 1950.)

In a previous section, a caste society was described as a closed class society--that is, a society so lacking in social mobility that a person kept his ascribed status all of his life. While it is true that the majority of Blacks are born in poverty and die in poverty, income statistics indicate that there is an increasing number of Negroes with incomes equivalent to white middle class incomes, and that there are a few Blacks with exceptionally high incomes. A similar trend can be seen in education: a majority of Negroes have grade school educations, but increasing numbers have high school and college educations.

The Black population does not constitute a socially immobile population, notwithstanding the fact that growth in income, education, housing, and managerial and professional jobs may lag substantially behind that of the total community. The Negro population of the United States does not constitute a caste because it has in-group mobility. Blacks can and do move from the lower class to the middle and upper classes but, as the diagram showed, the Black classes are not equivalent to white classes.

Compared with the white population, the Black population does not share proportionately in the benefits of the nation. Because access to these benefits has been denied because of racial discrimination, the Black, in effect, constitutes a separate caste. Moreover, even when Negroes attain a living standard equal to whites, they have historically lived in a segregated society, either de jure or de facto. From the standpoint of intra-group mobility, therefore, the Black population constitutes a caste sub-culture within the American culture.

The vast majority of Blacks have, as a result, not shared proportionately in the financial rewards or egalitarian promises of American culture. While most of the legal barriers to equality of opportunity have been or are in the process of being removed, the heritage of years of discrimination is not quickly changed by the removal of legal shackles. Social practices, which are a part of custom, persist long after the attainment of legal equality. The Negro, in turn, because of his lack of experience and education, has often been unable to take advantage of the newer opportunities available. One result has been a polarization of white-black attitudes in which Blacks think that social change is too slow and whites think that change is too rapid. The caste status of the Negro thus affects not only the Negro, but the stability of American institutions.

The caste status of the Negro has its roots in slavery and segregation. After slavery was abolished, the United States enacted protective civil rights legislation to counteract the various Black codes and de facto practices which threatened the position of the Black as a free American citizen. But these legal protections were gradually emasculated by such Supreme Court decisions as The Civil Rights Cases, 109 U. S. 3 (1883) and Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537 (1896). Such decisions encouraged many states to enact Jim Crow statutes which, added to discriminatory practices based on custom, accentuated the caste status of the Negro.

Beginning in the 1950s, the Supreme Court began to apply the due process and equal treatment guarantees of the Thirteenth Amendment more rigorously to the Black population. Civil rights legislation of the Reconstruction period was used as a basis for protective legal action, and new legislation was enacted by Congress in the 1960s. While the decade of the 1970s is here with the Negro population still suffering from many socio-economic disabilities, most of the legal disabilities which sanctioned the caste status of the Negro, have been removed.

The ability of the Black to protect his interests at the ballot box has been further dramatized by the election of Negro officials in the South as well as in the North. Increasing recognition of the polarizing effects of discrimination, economic efforts to raise the level of income and education, and protective legislation to reduce segregation in education, housing, and employment will gradually ameliorate the conditions which made the Black population of the United States a deprived caste within the largesse of the American community.

The elimination of the caste status of the Negro, however, will probably be unsatisfactory to both white and black populations. For the former, it will be too fast; the latter, it will be too slow.

In political units where the population is overwhelmingly black, it is anticipated that Blacks will vote as a block to acquire public office. In such political units, the responsibility for improving the status of the Black citizen will lie more and more with his own elected officials. But even in those communities class differences will prevail, with most of the benefits accruing to a black elite. Negroes are opposing this inequality in their own population, but they prefer to see leaders from their own group reap the benefits of political power and income.

Summary

In summary, we might say that American society is primarily an open class society. However, a caste system also exists. Regardless of this fact, most white and some nonwhite Americans view the U.S.A. as a classless society. This view is based on the traditional beliefs of the Protestant ethic and the democratic ideal that hard work leads to success and all men have equal rights.

Nevertheless, a class society does exist. The primary basis for class differences is income. American classes can best be divided according to wealth. The more wealthy belong to higher classes. The poor belong to the lower classes.

Other factors such as education, occupation, family background, and places of residence are also important in class status. However, all of these are related to income.

Racial, religious, and ethnic prejudices prevent the United States from being a purely open class society. Although social mobility is more common in the United States than in many other countries, racism and prejudice have created a castelike situation for some minority groups. It is this problem of prejudice that we now turn to in the next chapter.

In order to gain a greater understanding of class and caste in American society one might refer to Appendix B. In this appendix, Dr. Wilfrid C. Bailey, an anthropologist, describes the social organization of a small southwestern community. The study points out a number of things which have been mentioned. Dr. Bailey's study shows the class and caste system at work in a real situation. Furthermore, it provides us with an example of how an anthropologist reports his findings of a study to other social scientists.

PREJUDICE AND ETHNOCENTRISM

We have learned many facts about the concept of race as the scientist sees it and as it affects people in their dealings with one another. We have also seen how classes and castes create social problems. We have learned that differences in income, possessions, and physical features have for centuries caused dissension, discrimination, and violence.

Some of the reactions of people to differences in class or race seem quite out of proportion to their real significance. To understand these reactions more fully, we must know more about why and how people react to others different from themselves, both individually and in groups.

What is Prejudice?

Overgeneralizing

Everyone has attitudes regardless of nationality, race, religion, or ethnic background. An attitude is a learned way of reacting, either positively or negatively, toward persons, places, or things.

When anthropologists talk about prejudice, they are talking about a negative attitude based on a fixed overgeneralization and directed toward racial, social, or ethnic groups and their individual members. While a prejudice may be favorable or unfavorable and may be held toward foods as well as people, the anthropologist's term prejudice refers to unfavorable attitudes toward people based on fixed false generalizations and over-generalizations.

As we mentioned earlier, everyone generalizes about groups of people for the purpose of convenience. We can say, for example, "Americans speak English." This generalization will be true enough if we realize that there are exceptions and are prepared to concede that it may not apply to all Americans.

However, when we overgeneralize we are exaggerating the case. For example, "All French Canadians speak English" is an overgeneralization. It is an exaggeration which distorts the truth. When a person's attitude is based

on a fixed overgeneralization, it means he believes an exaggerated idea and will not change his mind even if he is given proof that he is wrong. This is the kind of thinking which underlies prejudice. Of course, the false generalization, "All Americans are rich," is often responsible for prejudice, too.

In summary, prejudice is a negative attitude toward groups and their individual members which is based on fixed overgeneralizations and false generalizations.

Stereotyping

The prejudiced person thinks in terms of stereotypes as well as generalizations. A stereotype is a mental picture of a person based on generalizations about the groups he belongs to. If you say, "African" or "Chinese" to someone, a stereotype of what that person looks and acts like will flash into his mind. For some people this is only a first reaction. For others--those with strong prejudices--it is the only reaction.

An interesting experiment in stereotyping was conducted with Chinese and American students. In 1933, two psychologists named Katz and Brady asked 100 American college students to list the traits which best described different groups of people. The following traits were those most often ascribed to Americans and Chinese:

Americans	Chinese
industrious	industrious
intelligent	ignorant
straightforward	deceitful
practical	sly
progressive	conservative
ambitious	reserved
pleasure-loving	tradition-loving
efficient	superstitious
sportsmanlike	quiet
	meditative
	very religious

In 1969, two Chinese college students at the University of Georgia were asked what traits they would assign to American and Chinese. Their list of traits was as follows:

Americans	Chinese
industrious	industrious
insincere	intelligent
intelligent	respectful
efficient	peace-loving
prejudiced	conservative
religious-minded	tradition-loving
progressive	quiet

While none of these lists tell us anything conclusive about how Americans or Chinese view themselves and each other, they do indicate a striking contrast in the way people stereotype their own group and other groups. The question one might raise at this point is, what makes people stereotype others? Or better yet, how do people become prejudiced? It is this latter question to which we now turn.

How Does Prejudice Originate?

Prejudice against different religious, national, cultural, and ethnic groups has been so consistently present throughout history that some have theorized that it is inborn--part of human nature, so to speak. Actually, a child is born without prejudice. If he grew up without cultural influences, he would notice traits in other people which were significant to him. An American child might judge other children by their size, athletic ability, success in school, or personality. He might not be concerned with the color of the other child's skin or the kind of house he lives in--factors which are irrelevant from a child's point of view.

But of course a child does not and could not grow up without cultural influences. Everything he learns he learns from those around him, including prejudices and all the attitudes toward himself and other people which foster prejudices.

Prejudice is Learned

While mental health specialists study the child's emotional development and social psychologists study the child's social adjustment, the anthropologist studies the child's enculturation. He observes how and what a child learns in order to be a member of the culture he lives in. The anthropologist describes the attitudes, values, and behavior important in a culture, and how these are transmitted from one generation to the next.

Sociologists and anthropologists tell us that prejudice is learned at

home and reinforced by the culture a person lives in. It is not transmitted by genes, but by words and examples and expectations of others.

A child learns prejudices from early childhood. More often than not, the prejudices a child learns from his parents are unconsciously learned and unconsciously taught. While some parents make their feelings unmistakably clear to their children ("We don't go with those kinds of people"), most parents communicate their likes and dislikes to their children by example. Children imitate their parents' avoidance of this group or that neighborhood. They absorb their parents' unspoken attitudes toward people in general and groups of people in particular.

Small children, particularly, tend to overgeneralize and see things in absolute terms. For them, learning prejudices is not difficult. For example, when a small child learns that the tall person in the suit is "Daddy," he will call all men "Daddy." Similarly, if his parents express some negative attitude toward a person with different skin color, he will lump all people with this color in his category of undesirable people.

Prejudice is Reinforced

Once a child's world extends beyond the home to the school and community, some or all of his prejudices will be reinforced by the attitudes of his friends, acquaintances, and teachers. Those prejudices which are reinforced by the culture are the ones most likely to stay with him throughout his life, even though he may never express them in any way.

On the other hand, a child is less likely to retain or act on the prejudices he has learned at home if he learns, somewhere along the way, to treat people as individuals and judge them on their own merits; to make decisions based on facts; and to follow the dictates of his own conscience regardless of what those around him may think. A person is less likely to retain or express the prejudices he has learned in childhood if he learns to be interested in, rather than wary of, differences among people. Also, reduction of prejudice may occur if a person is exposed to a variety of people, including those he was prejudiced against, and different points of view. However, contact with other groups can reinforce prejudices if contact results in a bad experience.

Ethnocentrism Fosters Prejudice

Basically, ethnocentrism is a feeling of pride in one's own group coupled with a contempt toward all other groups. It is an extreme unqualified form of group loyalty, just as arrogance is an exaggerated form

self-confidence. However, there is no clear-cut line between loyalty and ethnocentrism. It is often very difficult to know where loyalty leaves off and ethnocentrism begins, although there are some definable differences between the two.

The Concept of In-Groups. The social scientist's concept of in- and out-groups underlies the idea of ethnocentrism. Social psychologists tell us that man is a social animal who lives and acts in groups. An in-group is the group to which an individual belongs. Its members are held together by a common bond of values or interests which are important to them. Anyone who is not a member of a particular in-group is considered to be in the out-group.

Everyone is a member of many in-groups. They vary in importance and lasting value. Some, like the family, last a lifetime, while others--a school or place of business--may be temporary. The in-groups we belong to reflect the different aspects of our lives. An adult man in our society may belong to ten or more in-groups. An automobile mechanic in Denver, Colorado might be a member of the following in-groups:

1. Family: his wife, children, parents, parents-in-law, brothers and sisters.
2. Friends: the people with whom he plays cards or goes fishing, and with whom he exchanges social invitations.
3. Occupation: the other mechanics he knows through his work, union meetings, and training courses.
4. Place of business: the people he works with at the plant.
5. Geography: the people who live in his neighborhood.
6. School: the people he went to high school with.
7. Armed Forces: his buddies in his Army outfit.
8. Ancestry: people who came from Mexico whom he meets at the Spanish-American club.
9. Politics: his fellow democrats at the Democrat Club.
10. Religion: the members of his church.

The anthropologist has given the name ethnocentrism to the attitude which results from the existence of cultural in- and out-groups. The term was first used by William Graham Sumner, a sociologist in the late 1800s. This was a period of emerging nationalism in Western history, when people were developing strong positive feelings toward their countries. Sumner defined ethnocentrism in this way:

> Ethnocentrism is the technical name for this view of things in which one's own group is the center of everything, and all other groups are scaled and rated with reference to it . . .

> Each group nourishes its own pride and vanity, boasts itself superior, exalts its own divinities, and looks with contempt on outsiders. Each group thinks its own folkways the only right ones, and if it observes that other groups have other folkways, these excite its scorn. Degrading epithets are derived from these differences. Pig-eater, cow-eater, uncircumcised, jabberers are epithets of contempt and abomination . . . For our present purpose the most important fact is that ethnocentrism leads a people to exaggerate and intensify everything in their own folkways which is peculiar and which differentiates them from others.

Chauvinism. A form of extreme patriotism called chauvinism strongly smacks of ethnocentrism. Chauvinism is a French word; the English equivalent for chauvinism is jingoism. However, both terms are used in English. The term jingoism dates back to the 1870s when England and Russia came near to war. Those Englishmen favoring a strong policy against Russia were called jingoes. The term came from a stanza of a song:

> We don't want to fight, yet by jingo! If we do,
> We've got the ships, we've got the men, and got the money, too!

This form of ethnocentrism involves a blind faith in one's nation and contempt for other nations who might be a real or unreal threat.

Some people regard ethnocentrism as a necessity for a nation's support and existence. They see ethnocentrism as valuable and good. Others view ethnocentrism as a disease, a social cancer, which breeds violence and conflict among different groups of men.

The dividing line between national loyalty and chauvinism is hard to find. But in general, the nationalist is patriotic while the chauvinist is a super-patriot. Adlai Stevenson suggested the difference between the two when he said, "I venture to suggest that patriotism is not a short and frenzied outburst of emotion, but the tranquil and steady dedication of a lifetime." G. W. Russell put it this way, "Nationalism in every country requires a strong admixture of internationalism to prevent its becoming a stupefying drug."

Nationalism is a feeling of loyalty, approval, and devotion to the culture of one's country, especially its customs, language, dress, recreation, food, and patterns of organization of the family, state, and economy. Sometimes there is also loyalty and devotion to the country's dominant religion.

The people of a nation do not necessarily have a common ancestry, language, or religion. They may, in fact, be living in another country and

still retain their original loyalty to the "fatherland" or "homeland." Sometimes this allegiance is focused on one main cultural trait like language. More often, allegiance is to a group of cultural traits.

In any case, this feeling of nationalism binds people together. It fosters pride in their collective accomplishments, and a willingness to work, sacrifice, and even die for the welfare and survival of their nation.

On the other hand, ethnocentrism in the form of jingoism or superpatriotism means that love of country goes with contempt for other countries. These additional dimensions of hate, conceit, and disdain distinguish ethnocentric behavior from national feeling.

When nationalism becomes ethnocentric, the familiar patterns of prejudice and scapegoating enter the picture. The superpatriot will exhibit the same types of unreasonable hatreds and fears toward other countries as the scapegoater who victimizes other races, classes, or religions. His blind faith in his own nation will also be an exaggerated emotional reaction. The chauvinist or super-patriot usually lives by the slogan, "My country, right or wrong." In war, he believes "God is on our side."

His motives for attacking or derogating people or other countries are similar to those which underly the actions of the scapegoater. They range from conformity to the opinions of his group to a pathological need for blaming others for circumstances which he cannot change or tolerate. He is actuated by fears, the need for self-enhancement, or the calculated pursuit of power. Religious ethnocentrism is another prevalent source of prejudice and conflict throughout the world. Religious prejudice often combines with chauvinism to create even deeper, more explosive hatreds.

How Ethnocentrism is Learned. Like prejudice, ethnocentrism is learned early in life and reinforced outside the home by the culture. Most parents encourage their children to be intensely loyal to their family, their team, their country. Schools teach history in such a way that their country is always right and its leaders are usually all noble, heroic men. History textbooks also make it easy for a child to conclude that the enemy in every conflict was, at best, misguided or, at worst, the personification of all evil.

In their eagerness to win each child's unqualified loyalty, most cultures tend to overstate their virtues and overemphasize their accomplishments. It is not surprising then, that children--who tend to have unqualified beliefs--get an exaggerated opinion of their own culture and underrate other nations and cultures. Dr. J. L. Moreno recorded the following statements of American school children from different sub-cultures responding to a question asking them to choose other class members with whom to associate.

These examples reflect both prejudiced and ethnocentric views:

Fifth Grade

Adeline rejects Anna (Italian): "I don't like her . . . she dresses so filthy . . . her hair hangs all over, like most Italians."

Michael (Italian) rejects Morris (Jewish): "He wants to play with us but we won't let him. We also beat Norman up because he was on Morris's side. They're both Jewish. We beat him up six or seven times . . . "

Jane (white) rejects William (Black): "He makes up stuff he calls minstrels but I don't see it makes any sense. The teacher laughs with him and that makes me mad. He is colored."

Eighth Grade

Albert rejects Alexander: "Most people don't like him. He is more Irish in his ways and our class don't like that. He talks a lot, argues and fights . . . "

Patricia rejects Carmela: "I'd get Hail Columbia if my mother saw me going with any of them Italians."

Norman rejects Anna: "Her face is Jewish and my family does not like Jews. She's a pain in the neck. I have never spoken to her. She never did anything to me and I never heard anything about her but that's how I feel . . . "

Ira (Jewish) rejects Tony: "I don't take to Italians . . . "

Ethnocentrism in Times of War. The behavior which results from war-time fears can match the most extreme kinds of scapegoating. Anti-German sentiment was displayed toward American citizens of German ancestry in both World Wars I and II, but the civil rights of American citizens of German origin were generally respected. American citizens of Japanese origin, however, were brutally treated in World War II, notwithstanding the fact that there were no acts of disloyalty by American citizens of Japanese origin, either naturalized or native born.

In February 1942, President Roosevelt issued an executive order

authorizing military commanders to designate military areas in the United States from which persons might be excluded, and to provide for the care of these persons during their period of exclusion. Before any important action was taken under this measure, Congress ratified and adopted it in March. Subsequently, more than 112,000 Japanese residents of Western states, of whom nearly two-thirds were natural born citizens of the United States, were excluded from areas designated by the military and herded into temporary camps. They were then placed in ten "relocation centers" situated in the desert country of California, Arizona, Idaho, Utah, Colorado, and Wyoming, and in the delta areas of Arkansas. Here most of them were detained throughout the war in conditions analogous to concentration camps.

The constitutionality of the military commander's exclusion order was upheld in Korematsu v. United States, 323 U.S. 214 (1944) on grounds of military necessity. In a vigorous dissent, Justice Murphy said, in part:

> Justification for the exclusion is sought, instead, mainly upon questionable racial and sociological grounds not charged or proved . . . . The reasons appear . . . to be largely an accumulation of much of the misinformation, half-truths, and insinuations that for years have been directed against Japanese Americans by people with racial and economic prejudices--the same people who have been among the foremost advocates of the evacuation. A military judgment based upon such racial and sociological considerations is not entitled to the great weight ordinarily given the judgments based upon strictly military considerations . . . .

While Japanese Americans were contained in American-style concentration camps, one Japanese American unit was fighting in the American army. By the end of the war, this unit was the most highly decorated American unit in the European theatre of war. In addition to the personal discomfort and degradation suffered by Japanese Americans, their forcible relocation also entailed great property losses. When reimbursement was finally paid by the United States government, it was made at the rate of one dollar for every ten dollars of lost property.

It is true that the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941 outraged American sentiment. There were also fears in spring 1942 that the Japanese might attack the West Coast. It appears in retrospect, however, that the military exclusion orders directed against the Japanese were founded on racial bias more than on military necessity. Neither the military authorities nor the Federal Bureau of Investigation were able to document actual or threatened acts of subversion or espionage, or even alleged disloyalty.

The World War II Japanese evacuation is a reminder that war can

exacerbate the latent prejudices of a nation. In addition, a nation at war will condone many acts against its citizens which in peace time would be considered a violation of due process of law.

Of course, not all people are unduly influenced by ethnocentric views of their nation, religion, or cultural group. Neither is ethnocentrism always expressed. Like prejudice, it is an attitude which may never be translated into behavior of any kind, much less violent behavior.

Ethnocentrism does often provide more grist for the mills of prejudice and scapegoating. But the extent to which it is taught, learned, and expressed varies tremendously from person to person and culture to culture. For every militant religious crusader and every advocate of this or that kind of supremacy, there is always a group which is in agreement with Norman Thomas when he said, "The secret of a good life is to have the right loyalties and to hold them in the right scale of values."

Extent and Intensity of Prejudice

It is difficult to categorize degrees of prejudice. Like other social phenomena, it is not susceptible to precise measurement. However, it is common knowledge that people differ in the extent and kind of their prejudices, just as they do in religious sentiment, nationalism, or personal preferences.

In order to discuss differences in degrees of prejudice, we shall use the following descriptive series of terms: (1) predilection, (2) prejudice, (3) discrimination, and (4) scapegoating. While all the terms on this scale overlap somewhat, we will use these categories for the sake of convenience. It is also important to note that, because the categories overlap, what begins as predilection or personal preference may eventually turn into the aggressive hostility of scapegoating.

Predilection and Prejudice

Predilection is an attitude of preferring to associate with one person rather than another because of their physical appearance (e.g., skin color), religion, culture, or some other trait. Some people like Italian food, others do not. This matter of taste is personal and everyone has preferences. But in the case of predilection, a preference for people, not food, is involved. One might prefer the culture or way of life of one group to another. This kind of preference is common among most people, and does not create a social problem.

When predilection leads to a strong fixed negative attitude, the predilection becomes a prejudice. Prejudice has already been defined as a negative attitude based upon a fixed overgeneralization. It is aimed at a particular group or at an individual because he is a member of a group.

Most people have prejudices of one kind or another, but some prejudiced attitudes are seldom expressed. The individual may even be unaware of his prejudices. As long as prejudices are not expressed through one's behavior, these prejudices present no problem to society. However, individuals will often express prejudiced attitudes and behavior and, at the same time, deny that they are, indeed, prejudiced. For example, a woman in a southwestern city stated, "I am proud to say I am not prejudiced, but I won't let my daughter visit that community center where those Mexican boys hang out." This example illustrates the fact that prejudice is a cultural phonomenon as well as a psychological phenomenon.

Frequently a culture postulates a general normative system and contradictory norms with respect to some sub-system of the culture. In American culture, this contradiction in values is seen in the co-existence of a democratic ethic of equality and a discriminatory ethic. The latter is applied to such minority groups as Indians, Negroes, and Spanish-speaking Americans.

Gunnar Myrdal applied this thesis to white-Black relations in the United States. He maintained that people bridge the contradictions between the two value systems by relying on beliefs which exempt Blacks from the general value system. These beliefs are usually the stereotypes of Black behavior and aptitudes which are part of general American culture. For this reason, Myrdal conceptualized Black-white relations in the United States as the American Dilemma.

Twenty years later, those who talk about the "American Dilemma" today largely accept Myrdal's analysis and view Black-white relations as a culture conflict between professed values and behavioral expectancies. In psychoanalytic terms, this culture conflict may be viewed as basically destructive, contributing toward a schizoid personality in the dominant group and feelings of hostility and aggressiveness on the part of the dominated.

Often a person who is aware of his prejudices attempts to control them. He may learn to tolerate situations which require close contact with the group against whom he is prejudiced. Usually his prejudices are of relatively low or moderate intensity. An example of this type of individual is the man who stated, "I don't like the colored; I never will. But they're here and you've got to make the best of it." This individual did not like having Blacks living in his neighborhood, but he resolved to remain and tolerate the situation.

Discrimination

Beyond the moderately prejudiced is the person with strong or highly intense prejudices. This individual would tend to avoid contact with, and express strong hostilities toward those against whom he is prejudiced. He will act out his prejudices in terms of social behavior more often than persons with less intense prejudices.

When prejudice is acted out it is called discrimination. In brief, discrimination means showing a degree of hostility toward an individual by preventing the individual from taking part in certain social, economic, or political activities.

In studying a culture, one can see prejudice in action in many ways. Discrimination is one way prejudice is expressed. It involves the selection of a particular group or a member of that group for differential and unequal treatment. Discrimination denies an individual equal rights or privileges. It usually means favoring a particular group while excluding others. If a store manager has a policy of hiring only Negroes, then he is discriminating in favor of Negroes. In turn, he is excluding the hiring of persons he does not consider Negro. Thus, he is discriminating against non-Negroes.

On the prejudice scale, discrimination involves an overt act, whereas prejudice is defined primarily in terms of an attitude. Discrimination, therefore, requires the prejudiced individual to have contact with the group or individuals he is prejudiced against. It is impossible for a Kansas farmer to discriminate against American citizens of Puerto Rico, even if he expresses hostile attitudes towards Puerto Ricans, because he has no contact with them. On the other hand, the lack of discrimination does not exclude an attitude of prejudice. A white store owner in a Black ghetto might conceal his prejudices and not discriminate against Blacks, if discrimination would result in his losing the customers who provide his primary source of income.

Today, various forms of discrimination are against the law in many states. But in the past, discriminatory acts were not only supported by custom but were enacted into law. Discrimination against the Negro, involving the entire Southern region, is the most infamous example. Poll taxes and literacy tests were political weapons used to disenfranchise the Negro notwithstanding the guarantees of the Fifteenth Amendment. A dual school system, with an inferior system of Black education in terms of books, facilities, salaries, and teacher qualifications, were the educational product of the discriminatory separate but equal doctrine. A host of indignities made a mockery of the Fourteenth Amendment guarantee of equal protection of the laws. There were separate drinking fountains marked "White" and "Colored," and signs in busses marked, "White people will sit from the front to the rear; colored people will sit from the rear to the front." While there was no legal segregation in many

states, de facto segregation in housing, schooling, employment, and access to public facilities often had the same consequences as legal segregation--unequal opportunity and a depressed standard of living.

While the case of the Black American is the best documented, discrimination against minority groups has been all too frequent. Irrespective of cultural background or ethnic origin--Chinese Buddhist or Japanese American on the West Coast, Mexican Catholics in the Southwest, or American Indians in Virginia or Arizona--minorities have borne the penalties of discrimination in assaulted pride, job discrimination, or inferior education. For this reason, many minority groups have been trapped in a culture of poverty.

Discrimination, however, has not been directed solely against non-Caucasoid groups. At various times in the United States, minority groups from Europe have been the object of brutal mistreatment by other Americans. The blatant racism of the Black Panthers today has its counterparts in American history. The Know-Nothing or American Party of the 1850s had its basic appeal in anti-immigration sentiment. This sentiment finally prevailed in the Immigration Act of 1924 which applied a discriminatory quota system that favored Protestant immigrants from northern Europe.

Although the history of the United States--past as well as present--is steeped in discrimination, Americans are frequently blinded to the fact that prejudice is a world phonomenon, and is not peculiar to whites or Americans. We will study several examples of prejudice in other countries later in this section.

Scapegoating

Regardless of the fact that discrimination adversely affects an individual, discrimination is not the extreme means by which prejudice is acted out. The most hostile form of expressing prejudice is scapegoating. Scapegoating may be defined as focusing hostility upon an individual or group when they are either partly or completely innocent of causing this hostility. Most people tend to scapegoat at one time or another. For example, Robert's father, Mr. S., came home after a hard day. Mr. S.'s boss was on his back all day. Mr. S. was very angry with his employer but he dared not talk back. Arriving home in a terrible mood, Mr. S. let out his frustrations on his wife--as Robert put it, "Dad blew his cool." Then Mrs. S. got onto Robert for not helping in the house. Robert refrained from defending himself. Instead he stormed out of the house. "Boy! Was I steaming! I saw Pooch, our dog, and for no reason at all I kicked him."

In this example, Robert, his father, and his mother found scapegoats. As can be seen in the above example, scapegoating involves a displacement of aggression toward relatively innocent persons or objects. In this unit we will study scapegoating as it applies to whole groups of people defined as ethnic, racial or religious groups.

Motives for Scapegoating. Psychologist Gordon W. Allport lists seven general motives for scapegoating. These motives are (1) frustration and deprivation, (2) guilt evasion, (3) fear, (4) anxiety, (5) self-enhancement, (6) conformity, and (7) tablcid thinking.

People who blame their deprivations on other groups and take coercive action against members of these groups are motivated by frustration and deprivation. This is quite common among people who are poor. Prejudice is not limited to ethnic (race, religion, and nationality) differences alone. Economic differences can be a focal point of prejudice.

The poor often blame the wealthy for their poverty, while the wealthy might blame the poor for other evils in society. They sometimes accuse them of causing crime. "If those paupers would stop stealing and earn an honest living, our country would not have such a high crime rate." Often such remarks reflect fear and anxiety.

This brings us to two more motives behind scapegoating. Fear is a feeling that some danger is threatening us. By defining the danger and attacking it, the fear can be reduced. Anxiety is similar to fear. It involves an uneasy, worried feeling which cannot be clearly defined. Anxiety might be considered a lesser degree of fear. Anxieties are usually reduced through anti-locution. By talking about groups and labeling them dangerous, people tend to find a release for their anxieties.

Guilt evasion is a fourth motive for scapegoating. This involves placing one's own negative attributes on someone else. When a person condemns Spanish-speaking Americans or Mexican Americans as being lazy, dishonest, lacking morals, and causing prejudice, and if he himself could be characterized by such a description, then we have a case of guilt evasion. A simple example of guilt evasion may be the case of the man who has disguised several large personal expenses as business expenses on his expense account. When he finds out that his son was caught cheating on a test in school that day, he punishes him severely--as much for his own cheating as that of his son. Guilt evasion was employed by dictators like Hitler and Stalin. They projected their own guilt and the guilt of their countrymen on other groups.

Closely related to guilt evasion is a fifth motive for scapegoating: self-enhancement. Sometimes people use scapegoating to make themselves feel

superior when actually they feel inferior. In school a bully may pick on smaller children to overcome a feeling of inferiority.

Some individuals join organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan, American Nazi Party, White Citizens Councils, and Black Panthers, in order to enhance themselves at the expense of others. A person seeking political power may use scapegoating to gain unity among his followers. It gives him a feeling of importance and pride when he attacks other groups of people.

The final two motives for scapegoating are tabloid thinking and conformity. Tabloid thinking might be described as resulting in simple answers to complex problems. When an individual is asked the question, "What caused World War II?" he might simply answer, "The Germans and Japanese caused the war. They are war-like groups." This answer is much simpler than discussing the economic depression of the 1920s, and 1930s; the Russo-Japanese peace conference; the failure of the Weimar Republic and the political instability of France, and other causes which eventually led to World War II. The tabloid thinker bases his beliefs on simple generalizations. Such generalizations often condemn groups of people as a whole, and can result in coercive action.

Conformity as a motive for scapegoaters was partially explored when we discussed how prejudice is learned by children from their parents. When children accept the prejudices of their parents, they conform to the behavior expected of them by their parents. More often, however, scapegoating involves adults who are trying to conform to the expectations of a peer group.

Types of Scapegoaters. The discussion of the motivations behind scapegoating tells us a great deal about why people behave the way they do. From this discussion we can begin to see that a particular motive or combination of motives can develop different types of scapegoaters. Some people might be compulsive scapegoaters. Others might be frustrated scapegoaters or thwarted scapegoaters. There are also conventional, conforming, and calculating scapegoaters.

According to Allport, the compulsive scapegoater is one whose condition approaches a form of mental illness. His is a pathologically warped mind which is obsessed by delusions of persecution or paranoia. He sees the Communists or Jews or millionaires taking over his business, his government, his children's school, and bringing untold calamities upon him. He arms himself with hate literature or guns to fight back, and often resorts to violence or murder. In the extreme case of the compulsive scapegoater, hatred and fear are a disease of the mind which cannot be dealt with in any rational manner.

The thwarted scapegoater is a more common type. He is frustrated in some important phase of his life--usually his work or his social status--and cannot find an acceptable, realistic way to deal with his dissatisfactions. Perhaps he has never reached the point in his emotional development where he can be satisfied with his efforts or make the most of his abilities. Or perhaps circumstances have denied him the opportunity to use what abilities he has.

In any case, unable to accept his life the way it is and unable to change it, he places the blame for his predicament on a group which he can hate and punish for his problems. The result is that the thwarted person feels better because he has someone besides himself to blame for his miseries. In addition, he can feel superior to the scapegoat and gain a new sense of worth by contrast.

Allport also identifies the conventional scapegoater whose personal difficulties may not be as serious or frustrating as those of the thwarted scapegoater, but who nevertheless finds it easier to blame others when things go wrong. He is typically a person who has a very limited understanding of himself and has grown accustomed to placing blame rather than assuming it, or looking for real causes when difficulties arise.

The conforming scapegoater is either thoughtlessly unaware of the damage he is causing by his scapegoating activities, or is not strong enough to break away from the values of the group to which he belongs. He may be a relatively weak person in the sense that he desperately needs the approval of others and will do whatever the group expects him to do as a result.

The calculating scapegoater is the one we mentioned in the chapter on race--the political leader or would-be leader who uses the fears and frustrations of other scapegoaters to his own political advantage. He knows that preaching prejudice against one group or another can unify his followers against a common if imaginary enemy and rally people behind him. He knows, too, that placing blame for problems on a scapegoat is an easy substitute for solving the problems in some realistic manner. Or, he may use his hatred of a particular group as a substitute for other qualifications for elected leadership which he does not possess.

George C. Wallace is an example of a man who seeks power at the expense of others through scapegoating. Wallace lost the election for governor of Alabama, a traditionally segregationist state, in 1958 when he ran on a platform which was moderate on the subject of integration. During the campaign he disavowed the Ku Klux Klan and had the support of Negro leaders.

Following his defeat, Wallace is reported to have said, "They outniggered me that time, but they'll never do it again." From that time on,

Wallace expressed anti-Negro and segregationist sentiments in his political speeches. As a result, he gained the governorship of Alabama and eventually ran for president under the banner of the American Independent Party.

Tactics of Scapegoaters. Scapegoaters speak, write, and act out their hatred. Jokes at the expense of one group or another--such as stories about sly Chinese, greedy Jews, dumb Poles, greasy Italians or drunken Irishmen--are one form of scapegoating. Many people who tell jokes of this kind do not even realize that they are reinforcing stereotypes. Yet, if they are repeated often enough, people begin to believe that Poles are stupid or Chinese sly.

Another technique of the scapegoater is the false accusation expressed in rumors and various kinds of hate literature. Hate literature may be a pamphlet, book, or newspaper. It is written in order to falsely accuse a person or group of some misdeed, or is trying to damage their reputation. It blames them for circumstances which either do not exist at all (such as a conspiracy to take over the government), or which have nothing to do with the actions of that group.

The most hostile form of scapegoating is, of course, physical violence and threats of violence. Destruction of property, mob action, assault, and even murder have been the style of some extremist groups like the Ku Klux Klan and the Salem witch hunters. But violence has also been perpetrated by ordinary citizens.

The Victim of Scapegoating. The victim of scapegoating is usually on the receiving end of unjust or exaggerated accusations. Although he may not be entirely innocent or blameless, whatever he did to provoke the scapegoater does not warrant the punishment he receives.

The scapegoater chooses his victim carefully. He must be easy to identify, defenseless, and accessible. A person who looks and acts just like the scapegoater himself is usually not chosen as a victim because he might be confused with the members of the scapegoater's group. The victim must be different or distinctive in the color of his skin, his facial features, gestures, food habits, religious customs, or cultural peculiarities. He may speak a foreign language, speak English with an accent, or have names with a distinctive national flavor.

A victim must also be vulnerable. That is, he must be weaker than the scapegoater in prestige, in number, or in sheer physical strength. Often the scapegoater chooses a victim whose strength and confidence have been sapped by previous attacks. If a group has been the traditional object of blame, its members may have lost the will to fight. They know it is

useless to retaliate. Therefore, they are often chosen as targets of prejudice again and again.

Finally, the victim must be accessible to the scapegoater. The victim must live in the same city or community. A victim who is not seen frequently will not do, because he will prevent the scapegoater from keeping his prejudices alive. His enthusiasms for attacking the victim will die down or die out if the target is not available.

Responses of the Victim. The victim of verbal or physical attacks may respond in a variety of ways. He may pretend to himself that there is no attack and try to ignore it. Usually, however, this "it can't happen to me" attitude results in increased attacks from the scapegoater which cannot be denied or wished away.

The victim may try to adapt to the scapegoater's demands. Many Black Americans, for example, showed outward compliance to a segregated society by behaving in a humble, servile way.

A frightened victim may try to deny or hide his true identity in order to excape from the scapegoater's attacks. A more determined victim may assert himself by putting forth extra efforts to offset the handicaps imposed by prejudice. He may, for instance, try to get extra education or earn an unusually high income to make up for the social status which is denied to him by prejudice.

The victim who is familiar with the democratic process may try to get protective legislation for his group. He will support and work with organizations such as the American Civil Liberties Union and the NAACP which defend the victims of prejudice.

Most victims of prejudice will respond to attack by closing ranks within their group. Regardless of how independent or loosely organized they may have been, they will become a tightly-knit group in the face of danger. This response often aggravates their problems because, to the scapegoater, it looks like clannishness, hostility, or conspiracy instead of defensiveness.

When the victim's patience is exhausted, he may resort to more forceful means of retaliation such as mass protest. This may be of the non-violent type, a technique developed in the United States by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Violent response by the victims of prejudice often occurs at the time when prejudices show some trend toward being eliminated. Paradoxically, impatience grows when the effort at remedying their situation is increased

and their goal is more clearly seen. Psychologists call this "goal gradient." They note that when the victim's goal comes into clearer view, the situation evokes an extra burst of energy--like in the home stretch of a race--in order to reach the desired end.

Usually the victim's culture will reflect whatever response he chooses to make to his attackers. His arts particularly will mirror pathos, hope, protest, or anger. But whatever his response may be, in the eyes of the scapegoater it will be the wrong response. It will be criticized as being too passive, too aggressive, or too clannish. Whatever the victim does or does not do, he will continue to be blamed for it.

Summary

In brief, prejudice is not always expressed, even though most people have prejudices against one group or another. When it is expressed as discrimination, it is brought out by circumstances which force an individual to make a choice between people of different groups. It is fostered by fear of danger, real or imagined, or by the need for self-enhancement by those who feel inferior. Sometimes prejudice is a matter of conforming to the values of one's own group. It is often caused by ignorance of the real facts in a situation, or simply by unconscious thoughtlessness.

Scapegoating, the more active form of prejudice, is usually caused by stronger feelings of fear, deprivation, frustration, inferiority, or guilt. It is also expressed more strongly in the form of bully tactics, political chicanery, hate literature, mob action, and even murder. It always involves placing blame for real or imagined problems on an innocent and usually defenseless group.

Prejudice, discrimination, and scapegoating are not limited to any one particular geographic area nor are they limited to one period in world history. The following section gives examples of racial, religious, and ethnic prejudices throughout the world, past and present.

Examples of Racial Prejudice

Blacks in the United States

The efforts of minority groups to gain equal treatment under the Constitution of the United States, as well as heightened moral consciousness of the effects of prejudice, has forced citizens of the United States to a new awareness of racial prejudice. One legacy of the 1960s is the active role of

the government in attempting to reduce discrimination if not prejudice. Intervention on the part of the federal government to assure equality to all citizens culminated in the Civil Rights Act of 1964, 1965, and 1968 and the establishment of guidelines to speed up the slow pace of school desegregation. The government has been the most active social institution in changing patterns of discrimination. The following two examples show how state governments have used human rights commissions to investigate complaints of discrimination.

The integration of schools has often led to discharge of Black teachers by non-renewal of contract. An example is the failure of the Rives District in Missouri to renew the contracts of five teachers formerly employed in an all-Black school after the district combined its previously all-white and all-Black schools. Alleging racial discrimination, the teachers filed complaints with the Missouri Human Rights Commission. The hearing panel of three commissioners found in November 1965 that the school board had integrated students earlier that year to avoid losing federal funds. However, it had discriminatively failed to rehire the five Black teachers, believing that federal regulations did not apply to teachers, and being unaware of Missouri's 1961 Fair Practices Act.

Discrimination in housing is often more apparent than in employment, because Blacks are seldom able to find housing except in all-Black residential areas. Even where Blacks constitute a very small percentage of the population, housing discrimination is encountered, as in this Alaska case.

A Black couple applied at an apartment where they had seen vacancy signs. They alleged that on application to the manager's apartment, the lady who answered at first replied there were no vacancies. On asking why the signs were still up, she said, "We do not rent to Negroes. These are orders from the manager."

On complaint and investigation by the Alaska State Commission for Human Rights, it was ascertained that the manager did discriminate racially in renting. The issue was resolved at a meeting of the owner, manager, and investigator in which it was agreed that the couple would reapply and be shown any apartment that was available. Further, it was agreed that subsequent applicants would be accepted without regard to race.

Despite these gains in equality under the law, the Report of the National Advisory Commission (usually referred to as the Kerner Commission Report), issued after the 1967 ghetto uprisings in Newark, New Jersey, and Detroit, Michigan, found the nation "moving towards two societies, one white and one black--separate and unequal." Increasing demands (sometimes erupting into disorders) on the part of minorities for the removal of invisible bars blocking their advancement contributed to a conservative reaction among

the white population, frequently referred to as the "backlash." As whites have become concerned and divided about the problems of inflations, rising taxes, welfare costs, and the Vietnam War, minority groups have come to rely more and more on their self-determined efforts to achieve education, economic power, and political office. Black Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Mexican Americans have asserted a new pride in themselves and their cultures, so long smothered in a predominantly Anglo society.

Continued discrimination against minorities has contributed to a growing militancy in the civil rights movement. Along with such long standing organizations such as the NAACP, Urban League, and Southern Christian Leadership Conference (which have consistently worked to further cooperation between Blacks and whites), many new local civil rights groups have arisen to meet minority demands for "community control" and racial and ethnic study programs.

While most members of minority groups want to assert their new militance and strength by working through established political channels for improvements in the existing social system, a small percentage see themselves as outsiders and want to use violence against the system. The slogan "Black Power" has been interpreted in various ways. It can indicate the pride that Blacks feel in their heritage and race or in their efforts to achieve economic and political power. Or it can indicate the dangerous proposals made by the extremist fringe of Blacks who maintain that violence may be necessary if they are to achieve equality. The Black Panther Party, while rejecting separatism, has adopted a radical leftist political stand that advocates the overthrow of the existing "capitalistic" society. Other extremist groups, such as the Black Muslims, have exhibited reverse racism by preaching the supremacy of the Black race.

Black racists, like white racists, thrive on conflict and hinder efforts made by the majority of the American people to reduce racial tensions which have too long permeated much of American life. Too often, extremist groups arise because of our failure to find solutions to the still unsolved problem of racial discrimination. Similarly, as some progress is made, expectations for further improvements rise among minority groups. But these improvements are slow in occurring and Blacks have consequently expressed impatience and ever-deepening determination to win equality. Frustration among Blacks has, at times, led to harmful outbreaks of violence, but the vast majority of Black citizens realize that violence ultimately hurts their cause.

Unless and until American society as a whole moves to confront the challenge of the problem of racial discrimination and resolve it, the nation will continue to be plagued by extremists who are committed to revolt and conflict. The white citizen needs to be made more and more aware of the

vicious cycle of discrimination which acts as a barrier to Black mobility (see Chapter II). Here is a hypothetical outline of events which is all too often repeated.

1. Some whites see Blacks as "lazy."
2. The Negro cannot get a job due to such discrimination.
3. The Negro is unemployed.
4. The same whites point to the unemployed Black as an example of the "lazy Negro."

It may appear that racial prejudice involving the Negro has been over-emphasized in this unit to the neglect of such groups as Indians and Mexican-Americans. Discrimination against these groups, although less publicized, has been frequently as intense if geographically less extensive. The Negro, however, is the largest minority group in the United States. His pace of urbanization outside the South has rapidly increased since World War II. Negro discrimination is no longer a regional problem in the South or a problem in Chicago, New York and Philadelphia. It is a national problem and requires a national, not local or regional, effort toward amelioration.

The magnitude of our own racial problems sometimes tends to obscure the fact that neither the United States nor the white man has a monopoly on racial prejudice. Racial prejudice is found throughout the world, even between peoples that the white man, from his egocentric perspective, casually classifies as non-Caucasoid. While few countries make racism an instrument of national policy, as does South Africa and Rhodesia, racial prejudice manifests itself among groups which to the Westerner seem to belong to a common cultural tradition or racial group.

The Coloured Population in England

The history of race relations in England indicates how racial prejudice can develop in a country with no racist traditions. England was the foremost country in the suppression of the slave trade in the early nineteenth century. Missionaries from England, such as Livingstone, were not only motivated by a desire to convert pagans to Christianity but were often even more zealous to suppress the intra-African and Arab slave trade. Slavery was never permitted in England.

The proportion of coloured population in England is small--2.5% compared with 12% non-white population in the United States. (In England, the term coloured is used to mean non-white, and includes West Indians, Africans, and Asiatics.) Racial discrimination, however, is today a matter of increasing political and social importance in England.

At the same time, it must be recognized that the desire of certain ethnic groups to retain their traditional customs in the midst of another culture tends to create friction. The Indian Sikhs in England are an example. They continue to wear their beards and distinctive headdress, which has religious significance to them, while partaking in English society. The majority English population consequently releases prejudiced feelings against this "different" group. This has been the case of Indians in Africa and the Chinese in Southeast Asia, where racial as well as cultural differences set the immigrant community apart from the general population. While immigrant groups must exert an effort to adjust to the general culture of their host countries the majority population must also learn to accept and respect citizens of different ethnic or cultural backgrounds.

In the last decade, while the United States was attempting to cope with the domestic problem of racial discrimination, racial prejudice in England rose markedly with the increased immigration of coloured subjects of non-British origin. Large-scale immigration from new Commonwealth countries began in the 1950s, first from the West Indies and later from India and Pakistan. By 1965, it was estimated that there were approximately 800,000 coloured Commonwealth immigrants. The Economist estimated that by 2,000 A. D. this figure might increase to about four million, or a little over 5 percent of the total population. Since Commonwealth holders of United Kingdom passports were exempt from immigration restrictions, the decade of the 1960s was one of largely uncontrolled and unplanned immigration, leading to a high concentration of immigrants in the ghetto areas of a few cities.

Much of this recent increase was the result of the Africanization policy of former British colonies in Africa, especially Kenya, which deprived British subjects of Asian origin in Africa of economic means of support. A hectic beat-the-ban exodus of Asians from Kenya to England occurred with as many as 5,000 entering England in the week before the ban became effective March 1. This led to the panic passing by Parliament of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act in 1968, which brought under immigration control United Kingdom passport holders who had no substantial connection with the United Kingdom. In the same year, a Race Relations Bill was enacted to prohibit discrimination in employment, housing, and the provision of goods, services, and facilities to the public. Of equal significance, however, was a speech by Enoch Powell on April 20, 1969 in which for the first time a major English public figure talked of coloured immigration in the exaggerated language of the racist. This led to Powell's dismissal from the shadow Conservative cabinet. This act led in turn to a vast explosion of anti-immigration and anti-liberal feeling and of public support for Powell.

Coloured immigration to ghetto areas in cities has magnified problems of welfare and education, just as it has in cities in the United States. But the crux of the British problem is basically similar to that in the United States--racial prejudice. The following characterizations and practices took place in

England, although they sound very much like their counterparts in the United States.

Statement of Prejudiced Attitude[1]	Discriminatory Practice
"They have very little ambition. Oh they'll work hard on piece work but they don't want to better themselves job-wise."	Informant applied to tyre manufacturing company for any kind of work. He was told, "No Blacks wanted!"
"It takes a long time to get through to them, you know. They're not very quick at picking things up. You have to explain everything four or five times. Some are plain thick."	Applicant to foundry for vacancy as labourer was told, "No vacancy," and "Why don't you go back to your own country."
"They are lazy, arrogant, shifty, difficult and dirty. You can only get a day's work out of them if you stand over them."	Application was made by informant (with diploma in civil engineering from Punjab) for general factory work. He was told, "We don't want any more Indians."
"They don't adapt."	"We applied to a steel company for any kind of work. It was six of us. I was the only coloured. Three of them came before me. The man called me first and before I could even talk he told me there were no jobs. So I went outside and a little while later three of the men came out with jobs. I didn't wait for the others."
"They're lazy. It's the tropical sun, it's in their blood. That makes them that way."	"I applied to a sponge factory for any kind of work on recommendation of a white friend working there. When the manager saw I was coloured he said, 'sorry no vacancies.' There was a sign up outside saying all types of jobs going."
"We had Indians and Jamaicans in the kitchen. My God!"	
"I wouldn't take a coloured person of a different race. I know they don't get on. It really can be difficult."	
"So many of them are rubbish."	

[1] W. W. Daniel, Racial Discrimination in England: Based on the PEP Report (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1968), pp. 74, 75, 88, 89.

"Cleanliness is another thing. Some can stink--I mean really stink. Workers object to being alongside them--it leads to all sorts of friction."

"They're sex mad, you know. We're always having trouble with that. You find them at it all over the place. You get frightened to open a door."

"They spit a lot. This goes for all coloured people. It must be their tropical upbringing."

I telephoned an engineering firm to inquire about a job as a machine operator and was told there were jobs going and to come round. When I arrived ten minutes later and they saw I was coloured, they said all the jobs were gone."

"I went to an engineering firm for general labouring work. There was a white chap there as well. I was told, 'no vacancies.' Then I waited for the white chap and he told me he got a labouring job."

The Chinese in Indonesia

The chinese population in the Nyangang, or Southeast Asia, numbers about fifteen million. There are over three million in Thailand, four million in Malaysia, one-and-a-half million each in Singapore and Vietnam, several hundred thousand each in Burma, Cambodia, and the Philippines, and four million in Indonesia where the population is over 110 million.

The Chinese status in this area is complex. First of all, they are set apart from the indigenous populations by racial differences and by cultural differences. Although many Chinese became citizens of their country of residence, many did not. Most Chinese continue to maintain close ties with the homeland, sending their sons to China for higher education or for marriage.

The Chinese government of whatever persuasion has been traditionally reluctant to lose control over their overseas Chinese populations. The remittances of overseas Chinese to the homeland have been an important source of overseas exchange and have facilitated business transactions. Under the Communists, overseas Chinese have also served as convenient ideological centers for the extension of Maoism.

Secondly, the Chinese have a different attitude toward work and saving than the host populations. Hard working, frugal, willing to postpone immediate comfort for long term goals, the Chinese have generally become economically dominant in the countries of Southeast Asia. In Indonesia, where the culture pattern favors the pursuit of leisure and looks with disdain on those who are overly eager, the boundless energy of the Chinese contrasted with the relative inertia of the Indonesians.

Practically all governments of Southeast Asia have therefore imposed

restrictions on Chinese business men. Notwithstanding Sukarno's wooing of Communist Peking, anti-Chinese sentiment in Indonesia in 1959 resulted in a prohibition of "foreigners" (i.e., Chinese) from doing business in rural areas. In the aftermath of the abortive Communist Coup of October 1, 1965, the situation was ripe for open attacks on the Chinese community. Today the Chinese in Indonesia are, in effect, a people without a country. Unrepatriated by the Chinese, they are a convenient scapegoat for Indonesians who can beat, blackmail, and steal from Chinese with impunity.

A third factor, religion, also sets Indonesians and Chinese apart. Indonesia is predominantly a Muslim country. To the orthodox Muslim, communism is equated with atheism, and the Chinese community is a constant reminder in Indonesia of the differences between orthodox Islam and communism.

On October 1, 1965, the PKI, or Indonesian Communist Party, attempted to seize control of the country, apparently with the blessings of President Sukarno. A few army officers were seized, tortured, and killed. But a counter movement led by the army was successful, and the PKI leaders were captured and killed. This released a veritable bloodbath in which anti-communist groups, with the active support of the army, practically wiped out the communist party in Indonesia. In the massacre that followed, something like half a million Indonesians were killed with the support of some Muslim leaders who called it a holy war. The exact number of dead will never be known--estimates range from 200,000 to 800,000.

The killing of Chinese did not stop, however. It continued, leading to an exodus of Chinese to China until Peking stopped sending refugee ships. Since then, a systematic campaign of intimidation has been directed against the Chinese. Chinese schools have been closed and Chinese organizations disbanded. The Chinese may conduct no business outside the cities, and Chinese papers are banned, except those run by the government. "Chinese Go Home" signs are painted on walls and buildings, and Chinese children go to school to the taunts of "Tjina, Tjina" from their schoolmates. Although half the Chinese in Indonesia are Indonesian citizens, the Muslim population makes no distinction in its treatment of Indonesian citizens of Chinese origin and Chinese aliens.

The economic ramifications of Chinese economic dominance in Indonesia are complicated. If economic control over a country means real control, the actual rulers of Indonesia are not Indonesians but Chinese citizens, who control about 70 percent of the country's business. Chinese income is substantially higher than Indonesian income which, on the average, is only 5 percent of that of the Chinese residents.

Chinese business control in Indonesia is linked, through a complex of

relatives, to Singapore and Hongkong. Transactions of Chinese businessmen, built up over the generations through a linkage of family and clan traditions, often can effect the exchange rate of the rupiah, the Indonesian monetary unit. Chinese have not been economic partners with the Indonesians. They used their economic position to provide favored treatment for relatives and Chinese friends. However, Chinese business ability is an important asset as Indonesia seeks to rebuild its economy.

Chinese-Indonesian citizens have recently made strenuous attempts to prove their loyalty. In April 1966, they led the main attack on the Chinese Embassy, and subsequently organized a mass-naming ceremony in which they gave up Chinese names and took Indonesian names. Since most of the Chinese who live in Indonesia are native to Indonesia and have never seen their ancestral country, many see their future as bound up with that of Indonesia.

In the past the Chinese did not attempt to become assimilated into the Indonesian culture. Today Indonesians are insisting that the Chinese make them economic partners and become Indonesian. But the real problem is largely an Indonesian problem, as are race-cultural problems between majority and minority groups. Will Indonesians accept the Chinese as fully as they insist the Chinese accept them?

The Chinese in Malaysia

The Federation of Malaysia is another area where racial, cultural, and religious feelings against the Chinese have recently erupted in rioting and murder. Of the eleven million population, 45 percent are Malays, and 35 percent are Chinese, with a large enclave of Indians and Pakistanis.

For almost twenty years, ever since elections had been permitted by the British prior to independence, a super party under the leadership of Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman had dominated Parliament and the government. The Alliance Party had Malay, Chinese, and Indian branches. Beneath this facade of unity Malaysia was one of the most prosperous states in Southeast Asia and appeared to be the model of a multi-racial state. The truce between the different racial groups was based on the tacit assumption of Malay dominance of politics and Chinese control of trade, a division of benefits which reflected Chinese urban dominance. In Singapore, long one of the most important seaports in the world, 75 percent of the population was Chinese.

In recent years, with the British presence removed, there has been an increase in the number of extremist groups. In the 1969 May elections, the percentage of the Alliance vote dropped from 57 to 47 percent, as Malay and Chinese voters abandoned the Alliance Party to vote for racist Malay or Chinese parties. The Chinese wing of the Alliance--the Malaysian Chinese

Association--refused to participate in the new cabinet. The supporters of the Chinese extremist parties then proceeded to stage victory parades through the streets of the capital city, Kuala Lumpur. They are alleged to have taunted Malay bystanders and reportedly flung pork, an unclean meat, into the faces of the Malay Muslims. Over and over, Chinese demonstrators shouted they would take over the government.

The next day a counter demonstration of young Malays turned into an anti-Chinese riot. Chinese cars were overturned, houses set afire, and Chinese districts invaded by Malays carrying bamboo spears. The prime minister called out the army to restore order, but the predominantly Malay soldiers were not impartial--they arrested Chinese demonstrators but looked the other way as Malays beat up and killed Chinese men, women, and children. Subsequently, Malays began attacking Indians. Faced with the possibility of racial war, the prime minister replaced the democratic parliamentary machinery with a National Operations Council under Deputy Prime Minister Razak with emergency powers to rule by decree. This, in effect, made him a virtual dictator.

The effect of the riots has been to further polarize racial emnities which had never been overcome. The Chinese resented the Malay-backed plans for development favoring Malays, and the poorer, more rural Malays resented the prosperity of the Chinese and Indians. Unless Malays and Chinese are able to reconcile their differences, the economy of the country may be ruined and any chance of solving Malaysia's racial problem hopelessly doomed.

Attention has been given to the problems of the Chinese versus Indonesians and Malays because all three groups fall into the broad racial category of Mongoloid. The Malays and the Indonesians tend to be brown-skinned, whereas the Chinese in the two countries tend to be more yellow than brown. Whether classified typologically or geographically, the physical variations among these Asiatic people are sufficient to set them apart into different races, from the standpoint of geography or typologically from the standpoint of variation.

Indians in Africa

Racial differences, therefore, do not have to be extreme--as between whites and blacks--to form the basis for racial differentiation and prejudice. In fact, racial discrimination by Africans against Asiatics is also common. As with the Chinese in the Malay Archipelago, prejudice by Africans against Asiatics is also intensified by cultural insulation and economic success.

Indians were brought to East Africa in large numbers in the closing years of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to help in railroad building. In time, Indians became shop owners, merchants, and civil servants. But they did not assimilate into the host country. They kept to their distinctive patterns and constituted a third enclave alongside, but not part of, the white enclaves in East Africa. New African states afforded both white and Indian residents, as in Kenya, the opportunity to opt for local citizenship or to retain their United Kingdom citizenship.

Discriminatory practices have lately been applied to Indians by the African governments. Part of this results from the policy of Africanization, which has as its object transferring as many government jobs and as much business to African hands as soon as possible. In January 1970, the Kenyan Ministry of Commerce ordered some 1,000 Asian traders to close their businesses by June 1. As a result of such measures, large numbers of Indians have left Africa for England or migrated to India.

Examples of Religious Prejudice

In the long story of man's prejudice and inhumanity to man, no story is bloodier than that of religious persecution. Under the symbols of cross, crescent, and star, men have killed in the name of the true and only God. Not only have different faiths separated men, as have Islam and Christianity, but within a particular faith sects arose which set men apart. In sectarian zeal, men have been as zealous to convert by sword as by word when persuasion failed.

The history of Christianity is a long recital of heresies and oppressions long before the Christian West was rendered by the schism which set Protestant and Catholic at each other's throats. Many early colonists who came to the shores of this country came in search of religious freedom--Pilgrims to Plymouth, Quakers to Pennsylvania, Catholics to Maryland, and Anabaptists to Georgia, to name a few. A parallel is found in Islam, where Shia and Sunni differences still mirror old quarrels.

The emergence of the modern State of Israel reflects the determination of Jews after World War II to create a homeland for themselves after the Hitler holocaust almost exterminated European Jewry. But anti-Semitism did not die in the gas chambers of Buchenwald. Recent attacks against the remaining Jews in Poland, as well as acts of neo-Nazism in the United States and other countries, remind us that anti-Semitism still exists.

Communal rioting between Hindus and Muslims at the partition of India, as well as the act of partition itself, shows the brutal consequences of religious

intransigence. And even in late 1969, the confrontation between Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland, kept apart by British Tommies and barbed wire, remind the Anglo-American community that religious emnities do not die even when they exist in a common culture. They smoulder in the recesses of man's conscience, ready to be inflamed by demogogues and demons of irrationality.

The Jews and Anti-Semitism

Adherents of the Jewish faith probably have the longest history of discrimination and scapegoating. Except in their own national state, ancient or modern, it is difficult to find a place they have not been discriminated against. Their rigid monotheism set them apart in the ancient polytheistic world. Their refusal to acknowledge any political-religious symbolism, common in the ancient world where political-religious beliefs and practices were often fused, frequently placed them in a position of defiance and persecution. The Jewish revolts under Antiochus Epiphanes precipitated by his policy of Hellenization, and the final revolt under the Roman Emperor Trajan which led to the destruction of the Jewish state, are two of the best known ancient incidents.

But the lot of the Jew did not substantially change in the Western world as it shifted from paganism to Christianity. The Jew, by virtue of his close-knit culture and different religious beliefs, always belongs to the outgroup and was always a convenient scapegoat in times of political or economic distress. Forbidden to own land, restricted in terms of occupation and place of residence, and often required to wear a distinctive dress, the European Jew eventually developed a distinctive sub-culture. One aspect of it was a love for learning. The segregated walled-in sections of cities in which Jews were forced to live eventually became known as ghettos, after the Italian word designating the Jewish section of a city.

In many countries, hostility toward the Jews passed the frontiers of discrimination. At various times, Jews were murdered and driven out of countries such as England, France, Spain, and Russia. This type of hostile reaction by other Europeans led to the concept of the "wandering Jew" in search of safety and equality.

Anti-Jewish behavior and attitudes are referred to as anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism seems to have spread like an epidemic, here today, gone tomorrow, and back again. Between periods of strong anti-Semitic epidemics, Jews fared relatively well. But such periods were often followed by tragedy for many Jews.

In modern history, the climax of discrimination and scapegoating

against Jews occurred in Germany. The following law made by the government of Nazi Germany is an example of legalized discrimination:

Order Eliminating Jews from German Economic Life

The following is ordered:

Article I

1. . . . operation of retail shops, mail order houses, independent exercise of handicrafts is forbidden to Jews . . . .

2. . . . From this same date Jews are forbidden to goods and services in all the markets . . .

Article II

1. No Jew is allowed to be a manager of a firm.

2. If a Jew is an employee he may be dismissed and any contract he has is void.

Berlin, 12 November '38
The Commissioner:
H. Goering
General Field Marshall

Continued discrimination in Germany resulted in the order to murder all Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe. Within six years, six million Jews were killed. The scapegoating and persecution of Jews finally led to their virtual extinction through genocide.

Today Jews are still victims of legalized anti-Semitism in communist countries such as Russia and Poland. In Russia over two million Jews are prevented from observing religious rituals and holidays. Religious training of children is likewise forbidden. In Poland, whose Jewish population is about 18,000, Jews are leaving because of continued outbursts of anti-Semitism. Jewish children are beaten up at school and adults have been put out of jobs. Jews leaving Poland may only take five dollars and a little clothing, thus leaving behind the bulk of their possessions. One news correspondent observed that Poland may finish the job of wiping out the Jewish population there which was begun by the Nazis when they destroyed three million Polish Jews in World War II.

Anti-Semitism also exists in most other nations. The United States is no exception. A recent survey in 1969 showed that 21 percent of the United States citizenry is highly anti-Semitic, and another 16 percent is extremely anti-Semitic. Nevertheless, the United States government does not support religious prejudice. Most anti-Semitism in the U.S. is at the prejudiced level and not at the level of discrimination or scapegoating.

Mormons in the United States

The United States has not had an established church since colonial days. From the early days of colonization, however, there was religious prejudice. For one sect to plant a colony in which its practitioners could enjoy religious freedom did not imply toleration of other sects. Even Roger Williams, famous as a defender of religious liberty, did not apply his tenet that "none be accounted a Delinquent for Doctrine" to Catholics.

Since most of the early colonists were not only Protestants but separatists and nonconformists, the United States was early given a religious base that was not only Protestant but also inclined toward literal Biblical interpretation. Catholics did not become an appreciable part of the population until after the Civil War, when the tide of immigration turned from predominantly Protestant to predominantly Catholic countries. While officially no religious test for office may be made, being a non-Catholic was a qualification for the presidency supported by the mores of our culture until the election of John F. Kennedy, the first Catholic president.

Religious prejudice against the Mormons, however, is indigenous. This sect was founded in the United States. Persecution of the Mormons--a popular name for members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints founded in the nineteenth century by Joseph Smith--led to the founding of Utah, first as a territory and then as a state. Mormons were hounded from one state to another, until they finally moved to the isolation of the Great Salt Valley where they could practice their own faith in peace.

Establishment of the sect may be dated from the publication of the Book of Mormon in Palmyra, New York in 1830. Many converts were made but the New York climate was hostile and Smith moved their headquarters to Kirtland, Ohio. Many difficulties were encountered, however, and a new headquarters site was selected in Jackson County, Missouri, where a group of Mormons had already settled.

At first regarded as harmless fanatics, hostility was not long in developing. Jackson countians were mainly southerners, prepared to defend slavery at all costs. They identified the Mormons with New England abolitionists. Fear of political control and increasing land acquisitions by

Mormons soon led to overt acts of hostility in 1832 with the stoning of Mormon houses at night.

In 1833 the Jackson County Manifesto was drafted by a committee representing 400 or 500 citizens. It concluded that the Mormons should be driven out by arms if necessary. The Mormons agreed to leave the country but, on the advice of Governor Dunklin, the agreement was repudiated and the Mormons threw themselves on the mercy of the courts.

Mob action resulted, and Mormons fled north to Clay, Davis and Caldwell counties. Residence here, however, merely followed the Jackson County experience. On October 27, 1838, Governor Boggs ordered that "the Mormons must be treated as enemies and must be exterminated or driven from the state, if necessary, for the public good." As a result, Mormon men, women, and children were murdered. After repeated attacks, 15,000 Mormons fled Missouri.

The exodus of Mormons from Missouri led to the founding of the Mormon city of Nauvoo on the east bank of the Mississippi River in Illinois. Soon it became the largest city in Illinois, with a population of 20,000. Internal dissension in the community, as well as public hostility, soon led to further disruption. Governor Ford failed to provide protection for Joseph Smith, who had been jailed on a charge of treason. In June 1844, a mob with blackened faces took the jail and murdered Joseph and Hyrum Smith.

Increased mob violence in and about Nauvoo after Smith's death led to a decision on September 5, 1845 to send a company of 1,500 men to the valley of the Great Salt Lake. In selecting this isolated spot in the desert wilderness, the Mormons were motivated by sentiments akin to their colonial forbears--to escape persecution and establish a state where they could worship God according to their faith. Later in the same month the Mormons agreed to evacuate Nauvoo.

In February 1846 the first Mormon vanguard crossed the Mississippi on ice. It was not until July 1848, almost two years later, that the first wagon trains entered the Great Salt Valley under the leadership of Brigham Young, who had succeeded to Mormon leadership. Many hardships were endured by the Mormons on their long trek. Illness was a constant threat, and many died from cholera and black canker.

The carefully planned community prospered from the beginning, and within little more than a decade the population had increased to 40,000. The Mormon petition to establish a provisional state government as the State of Deseret failed and the area was organized as the Territory of Utah in 1850. Federal officials were mostly unsympathetic to the Mormons and, in the

1850s President Buchanan sent in an army under Albert Sidney Johnston. The practice of polygamy became the focal point of much of the action against the Mormons. A series of laws were enacted by Congress that restricted the rights of Mormons. The Edmund Act of 1862 and the Edmund-Tucker Act of 1887 were particularly severe. Terms of these acts denied the right to vote or hold public office to those practicing or believing in polygamy, declared children of such marriages illigitimate, disenfranchised the women of Utah, abolished the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints as a corporation, escheated all property not used as a place of worship and other assets belonging to the Church, and charged to the Church the costs of administering the provision of the Acts. In 1890, the Mormon Church officially forbade its members from entering into plural marriages. Congress finally admitted Utah as a state in 1896 but it was not until 1906 that a Mormon senator from Utah was allowed to take his seat. The national picture has changed greatly since that time. President Nixon selected two Mormons as members of his cabinet in 1969. The significant role that Mormons played in the settlement of the West is a by-product of religious persecution.

In 1969-70 the Mormons were accused of prejudice toward Negroes, because Negroes were not allowed to hold certain official positions in the structure of the Mormon Church. The question of the Negro in the Mormon Church now occupies a position in Mormon relations to the total American community occupied by polygamy in the late 19th century.

Catholics versus Protestants in Northern Ireland

Antagonism between the Protestant majority and Catholic minority, always smouldering beneath the surface, flared into open violence in 1969. Finally an uneasy peace was restored when the government of the United Kingdom sent in the army to separate the warring factions.

English overlordship of Ireland was never a happy one, even before Henry VIII declared himself head of the Church of England. The Irish adhered to the Pope as an expression of political independence perhaps as much as religious conviction. Adherence to Catholicism became more pronounced over the years as various oaths and disabilities were imposed on the Irish.

Northern Ireland, consisting of six of Ireland's thirty-two counties, is a legacy of the decision of the British government to establish plantations in England. Counties of rebel lords were declared forfeited to the crown, and regranted to those who would undertake to colonize Ireland with Scotch and English settlers. From this seventeenth century policy arose a divided Ireland with a Protestant majority in the north.

Various attempts of Irish nationalists to gain home rule in the nineteenth century were invariably opposed by Protestant Unionists from the northern counties. They succeeded in excluding Ulster and five other Protestant counties from the various measures which eventually brought home rule, commonwealth status, and finally independence to Southern Ireland.

Catholics in Northern Ireland were, from the inauguration of the Northern Ireland Parliament in 1921, second class citizens, as they had been for centuries in Ireland under British rule. Irish Catholics were discriminated against in employment, housing, and education and, as a result, were unable to make social advances. Most Catholics ended up living in poverty. One in six Catholic workers was unable to find employment.

Protestant politicians periodically used Protestant hostility toward Catholics as a means of political advancement--a type of demagoguery akin to the racist demagoguery of southern politicians. The bugbear of Papal government dominance was frequently raised and little was done to eliminate the stereotype that Irish Catholics were "dirty . . . they don't work, they just drink and gamble . . . if they move into a nice neighborhood they turn it into a slum."

Violence and bloodshed erupted in 1969 between the two religious groups, and finally British troops were sent in to bring a halt to the fighting. Nevertheless, hatred ran high on all sides. The prime minister, however, publicly recognized that the government had been derelict in protecting the rights of Catholics, and promised efforts to eliminate Protestant discrimination against Catholics. Violence continued into the 1970s, with extremist Protestant leaders deliberately fanning anti-Catholic sentiment for political profit.

Other Examples of Religious Prejudice

The partition of India in 1947 was accompanied by communal fighting and mass population shifts. In the religion-dominated culture of the subcontinent, the independence movement itself became splintered into Muslim and Hindu factions. When Mohammed Jinnah, leader of the Muslim Party, refused to take the appointed seats in the Indian parliament, partition was inevitable. The Indian subcontinent fractured into three parts--two predominantly Muslim groups, consisting of West Pakistan and Bengal, separated by a thousand miles of Hindu India.

By March 1948, about 6 million Hindus and Sikhs had migrated from Pakistan to India, while an even greater number of Muslims had left India.

Subsequent unrest in Bengal led to further migration. By 1950, another four million Hindus had entered India from East Pakistan and another million Muslims had left India.

The partition of India on religious grounds is not unique. Concurrent with the partition of India was the partition of Palestine into Jewish and Arab parts, since there had been no agreement between the hostile factions to continue as a united country. Part of the legacy of this partition was the displacement of thousands of Arabs in the fighting that followed; the emergence of the new state of Israel; and a period of almost endless war with the neighboring Arab states which imperils world stability.

For centuries, when Jews were persecuted in Europe, they found refuge in Muslim lands. Many Arabs claim that they are not anti-Jewish, but anti-Zionist. In the inflamed temper of the times, however, it is difficult to distinguish the two sentiments.

Religious intolerance is found in almost every country where different religious groups exist. In Egypt, Christians have been the objects of discrimination by the pro-Muslim government. In 1956, the Egyptian government began to attack Christian schools because they did not teach Islam. As a result, two schools run by the Church of Scotland were closed. The following report from Middle Eastern Affairs describes the situation as it existed in 1957:

> In August 1957, the COPT (Christian Church of Egypt) clergy raised a vigorous protest against the discrimination from which the Christians of Egypt were suffering, and which it described as follows: restriction of freedom in the erection of churches; the new laws relating to the personal status of Christians; the closing of Christian schools; discrimination against Christians in employment . . .

In Iraq, Christian missionaries became the target of a planned drive to eliminate them from that nation in 1959. Even today, Iraq's government is using Christians and Jews as political scapegoats. Public hangings and executions increased during 1969.

Religious prejudice and discrimination is deeply rooted in the history and culture of people throughout the world. Often the victim of religious bigotry in one time and place is the scapegoater at another time and place. Closely related to religious prejudice is ethnic prejudice. In fact, in many cases ethnic prejudices include religious prejudices.

Examples of Ethnocentrism

Ethnocentric sentiment, as previously indicated, cannot be separated from a man's race or his religion. Both of these become part of his cultural baggage, for even in matters of race it is the perception of others through cultural lenses that determines behavior. In this section, however, an attempt will be made to illustrate ethnocentrism primarily from examples in which race and religion are not of paramount importance.

Tribalism is a kinship form of ethnocentrism, just as nationalism is a state form of ethnocentrism. Since ancient times, tribal conflicts have occurred again and again. But in the continent of Africa tribalism is more important than ever before, because it threatens the stability of newly independent states which have not yet achieved a sense of nationhood. Black opposition to the white colonial masters in pre-independence days often served as a basis on which leaders from different tribal backgrounds could submerge their tribal differences and work together. With the removal of the colonial power, however, old tribal differences have all too often reasserted themselves.

The Ibo in Nigeria

Nigeria presents a case study in the explosion of tribal feelings. Unlike some African colonies, the British population in Nigeria was primarily administrative and military--there was no enclave of British colonists. The various stages of transition from a colonial dependency to a republic within the British Commonwealth were therefore relatively easy. Nigeria started on the road to independence with careful planning and some prior experience in government procedures.

Nigeria, like other African states, is not a unified country in the sense of constituting one cultural, linguistic, or religious group. There are many different tribes speaking different dialects. But the country is made up of three great ethnic parts--the Fulani-Hausa Muslim north, the Yoruba west, and the Ibo east. Each of these ethnic groups was established as the dominant group within a region (state) with a legislature responsible for internal affairs. All three groups were united in a national federation headquartered in the federal district of Lagos.

Of the dominant groups, the Ibo excelled in education and in jobs requiring administrative and technical skill. As such, Ibo employees had been widely assigned by the federal government to positions throughout the federation.

In 1966 there were two coups. In January an army coup overthrew the civilian government. This was followed in July by a second coup which became a pogrom in the northern region. It sent thousands of Ibos streaming back to their homeland in the eastern region. Efforts to reconcile differences between the Nigerian federal government and the eastern region failed, and on May 30, 1967 the Eastern Region Assembly declared its independence as the state of Biafra.

All conciliation attempts failed, whether under the auspices of the Commonwealth, the Organization of African Unity, or papal influence. The Ibos were cut off from the sea and pushed into the recesses of their hinterland. Early in 1970 the Biafran separatist movement was defeated. Notwithstanding the suffering and starvation which Biafrans had experienced, the fear of mass retribution by Nigerians did not occur. Attempts were being made by the Nigerian government to re-incorporate the Ibos and the Eastern Region into the Nigerian state. Malnutrition has exacted a heavier toll than fighting, and it is estimated that half of the Ibos have been exterminated. At the same time, the war has had a widespread effect on the Nigerian economy, not unlike the effect of the Vietnam War on the American economy.

Tribalism in Kenya

Kenya may be another country in which tribalism may overthrow the nationalism which has slowly developed since independence. The dominant tribe in Kenya is the Kikykuyu, the tribe of President Kenyatta, which is thought to have been responsible for the pre-independence Mau Mau terror. One of the well known national leaders in Kenya was Tom Mboya. Although from the Luo tribe, he was a staunch supporter of President Kenyatta and was minister of economics and finance in the Kenyatta government when he was assassinated by a Kikykuyu on July 5, 1969. His state funeral observance became a shambles. Luo tribesmen welcomed any Luo, even though a political enemy of Mboya, and turned against all other tribal members, even close friends of Mboya. When President Kenyatta arrived, his car was pelted. The assassination of Mboya may have far-reaching political repercussions, with a further polarization of political participation along tribal lines.

Cyprus, Belgium, and Canada

Ethnic conflict, however, is by no means restricted to the African continent. Since 1963, conflict between Greek and Turkish Cypriots has led to intervention by the Greek army, a threatened invasion by Turkey, and the maintenance of a United Nations peacekeeping force on the island. Relations between the two groups have not been stabilized, with the question of the degree of autonomy to be given to the Turkish minority still unresolved.

In Belgium since 1966, various governments have unsuccessfully struggled to solve an internal problem officially called "the relationship between the two national communities." Two dialects are spoken in Belgium: Flemish (Dutch) spoken by 53 percent of the population, and Walloon (French) spoken by 42 percent.

At the time of the establishment of the Belgian state in 1830, French was made the official language. In 1898, Dutch was also recognized as an official language, and bilingualism became the rule. Since 1932, regional unilingualism has been followed, but has never been satisfactorily settled between the Flemish speaking north and the Walloon speaking south. Unlike Cyprus where both language and religious differences separate the Turkish Muslims from the Greek Orthodox community, Belgium is overwhelmingly Catholic. The barrier between Flemish and Walloons is one of language.

In Canada, there are still large numbers of people who speak French in Quebec, which serves as the headquarters of a separatist movement. At the time of DeGaulle's visit to the opening of the International Fair in Montreal, he was denounced for concluding his remarks with the separatist slogan, "Vive la Quebec libre."

Serbs versus Albanians in Kossovo

The history of the people of Kossovo, a part of Yugoslavia, illustrates the effects of religious and national ethnocentrism. It also illustrates how group-to-group hatreds often dissolve in face-to-face contacts between people.

There are two major ethnic groups in Kossovo: the Serbians and the Albanians. Most of the Serbs are Greek Orthodox, while most Albanians are Moslem. Serbs and Albanians have different family patterns, values, and food habits. They share a common territory and a common history of conflict.

When Serbs gained political power, they mistreated the Albanians as a group. When Albanians gained control, they mistreated the Serbs. In their struggles for dominance they committed massacres, murdering men, women, and children. And whenever other nations brought war to the area, Serbs and Albanians took opposing sides.

While Serbs and Albanians hated each other at the national level, their hatred did not extend to individuals living in the same village. Each accepted persons from the other group who lived in the same village with tolerance and cooperation. This relatively friendly atmosphere existed between individuals as long as the groups were not at war with each other. In fact, some Albanians adopted Serbs as tribal brothers or blood brothers. And although both groups

opposed intermarriage because of religious differences, they respected each other's religious customs and beliefs.

This situation persists today. Albanians and Serbs maintain strong nationalistic feelings but remain friendly to each other in their personal relationships at the local level. Both groups look forward to the day when they will dominate the political scene and be the major power. And while they live on peaceful, friendly terms with each other in each village, they continue to view members of the opposing group outside the village with suspicion, fear, and hostility.

How Are Prejudice and Ethnocentrism Modified

Since prejudice and ethnocentrism are learned, we can assume they can be modified. If it is possible to learn an attitude, it is also possible not to learn that attitude or to learn the opposite attitude instead. However, if we were to think in terms of eliminating prejudice and ethnocentrism altogether, we would run into one major difficulty: the problem of breaking the cycle of learning from one generation to the other.

Because some degree of prejudice is found almost universally in people of all cultures, it is hard for a new generation to grow up untouched by its influence. It will be there--if not in the home, then in the school; if not in the school, then in the community. It is difficult to escape an attitude which is so pervasive. In addition, a child is exposed to prejudices at a very impressionable age, when he is most easily influenced and the impressions are most indelible.

So anthropologists are more prone to look at prejudice and ethnocentrism as culturally damaging attitudes which may be modified. They leave it to philosophers and theologians to envision a world where prejudice can be unlearned or never learned in the first place.

The anthropologist observes that there are forces already at work (or just emerging) in some cultures which tend to counterbalance and modify prejudices learned in childhood. Among these are enculturation, education, and cultural change. Let us see how these forces exercise a restraining hand on beliefs and expressions of prejudice.

Enculturation

When a child learns the ways of his culture, he may continue to learn prejudice and ethnocentrism, but he also learns the behavior which is expected

of an adult. In most cultures, this means he will learn to temper his feelings with reason when they lead to behavior which is not in the best interests of others. As an adult he is expected to behave peacefully and responsibly toward others regardless of his personal values.

Some of the qualities which are respected in American adults, for instance, are confidence, generosity, fairness, cooperation, respect for others, and friendliness. We condemn violent behavior, bully tactics, anonymous accusations, arrogance, name-calling, and exclusiveness. Of course, these are ideals which we do not necessarily live up to. Nevertheless, an American who has learned what society expects of him in the way of adult behavior will at least be aware that his culture does not condone the extreme forms of scapegoating.

Education

While education can perpetuate prejudices, it also plays an important part in modifying prejudice. The more education a person has, and the broader it is in terms of subject matter, the more likely he is to come in contact with facts and ideas which run counter to the prejudices he has learned. He may, for example, learn facts about other races, classes, religions, or nations which will dispel some of the mistaken ideas he has held about other groups. He may also learn concepts which will give him more insight into his own behavior and the behavior of others--both individuals and groups.

Ideally, a broad education should also provide a person with the skills for thinking and acting with reason. It should teach him to separate fiction from fact; to generalize and to decide on the basis of sufficient evidence; to evaluate sources of information; and to be wary of emotional reactions to situations. The kind of education which fosters respect for the scientific method of inquiry and the rational approach to problems can be instrumental in modifying prejudices about racial, social, and ethnic groups.

Cultural Change

Finally, changes in cultural values and customs may eventually help to break the cycle of prejudices which have been passed on from one generation to the next. In the United States, for example, legal means are being used to change some of our social customs. The aim is to change the values of our culture by reinforcing its moral and political beliefs in equality.

Our moral values emphasize the inherent worth of each human being, and forbid unnecessary cruelty even in times of war. Our democratic beliefs

recognize each person's right to pursuit of happines if it does not interfere with the rights of others, and guarantee equal political, legal, and social opportunity to each citizen. More recently our economic values are tending toward eliminating poverty and hunger in the midst of plenty. Americans are beginning to voice the belief that everyone should have the basic essentials of a decent life, rather than the minimum required for barest survival.

If civil rights and social legislation in the United States succeed in changing some of the culture's values and customs, future generations of Americans may have fewer examples of prejudiced behavior to observe. Even though prejudices may continue to be learned at home they will not be reinforced as strongly in a society where segregated public facilities no longer exist; where glaring differences in income or possessions have been modified; and where jobs and polling places are truly accessible to people of all racial, religious and cultural groups.

But cultural changes, like education, can intensify prejudices as well as modify them. In South Africa, for instance, belief in apartheid (racial separatism) is growing stronger and creating increasingly more opportunities for prejudice to flourish. It also increases the opportunities for passing on prejudiced points of view about race and class to future generations by retaining customs which are examples of prejudiced behavior.

Conclusion

Throughout this book we have examined prejudice and discrimination as it applies to race and class, religious and ethnic groups. Some people conclude that prejudice has existed in all places at various times and therefore will always exist. This belief is not held by others who realize that mankind has produced changes and accomplishments which in the past were thought impossible.

George Santayana once wrote that what man learns from history is that man has not learned. To some extent this has been true. Wars have followed wars; hatred and conflicts have occurred and reoccurred. And oftentimes people have not learned some of the essential ingredients behind such conflicts. For example, few children are taught subjects such as race, caste, and prejudice in school. Therefore, it is not surprising that they emerge as adults with the same prejudices as their forefathers. But, the questions this unit poses can be answered only by the student. Does a unit of study such as the one just completed affect attitudes and behavior? And if so, how?

APPENDIX A

Statement on Race and Racial Prejudice

Paris, 26 September 1967

1. "All men are born free and equal both in dignity and in rights." This universally proclaimed democratic principle stands in jeopardy wherever political, economic, social and cultural inequalities affect human group relations. A particularly striking obstacle to the recognition of equal dignity for all is racism. Racism continues to haunt the world. As a major social phenomenon it requires the attention of all students of the sciences of man.

2. Racism stultifies the development of those who suffer from it, perverts those who apply it, divides nations within themselves, aggravates international conflict and threatens world peace.

3. The conference of experts meeting in Paris in September 1967, agreed that racist doctrines lack any scientific basis whatsoever. It reaffirmed the propositions adopted by the international meeting held in Moscow in 1964 which was called to re-examine the biological aspects of the statements on race and racial differences issued in 1950 and 1951. In particular, it draws attention to the following points:

   a. All men living today belong to the same species and descend from the same stock.

   b. The division of the human species into "races" is partly conventional and partly arbitrary and does not imply any hierarchy whatsoever. Many anthropologists stress the importance of human variation, but believe that "racial" divisions have limited scientific interest and may even carry the risk of inviting abusive generalization.

   c. Current biological knowledge does not permit us to impute cultural achievements to differences in genetic potential. Differences in the achievements of different peoples should be attributed solely to their cultural history. The peoples of the world today appear to possess equal biological potentialities for attaining any level of civilization.

   Racism grossly falsifies the knowledge of human biology.

4. The human problems arising from so-called "race" relations are social in origin rather than biological. A basic problem is racism, namely, anti-social beliefs and acts which are based on the fallacy that discriminatory inter-group relations are justifiable on biological grounds.

5. Groups commonly evaluate their characteristics in comparison with others. Racism falsely claims that there is a scientific basis for arranging groups hierarchically in terms of psychological and cultural characteristics that are immutable and innate. In this way it seeks to make existing differences appear inviolable as a means of permanently maintaining current relations between groups.

6. Faced with the exposure of the falsity of its biological doctrines, racism finds ever new stratagems for justifying the inequality of groups. It points to the fact that groups do not intermarry, a fact which follows, in part, from the divisions created by racism. It uses this fact to argue the thesis that this absence of intermarriage derives from differences of a biological order. Whenever it fails in its attempts to prove that the source of group differences lies in the biological field, it falls back upon justifications in terms of divine purpose, cultural differences, disparity of educational standards or some other doctrine which would serve to mask its continued racist beliefs. Thus, many of the problems which racism presents in the world today do not arise merely from its open manifestations, but from the activities of those who discriminate on racial grounds but are unwilling to acknowledge it.

7. Racism has historical roots. It has not been a universal phenomenon. Many contemporary societies and cultures show little trace of it. It was not evident for long periods in world history. Many forms of racism have arisen out of the conditions of conquest, out of the justification of Negro slavery and its aftermath of racial inequality in the West, and out of the colonial relationship. Among other examples is that of anti-Semitism which has played a particular role in history, with Jews being the chosen scapegoat to take the blame for problems and crises met by many societies.

8. The anti-colonial revolution of the Twentieth century has opened up new possibilities for eliminating the scourge of racism. In some formerly dependent countries, people formerly classified as inferior have for the first time obtained full political rights. Moreover, the participation of formerly dependent nations in international organizations in terms of equality has done much to undermine racism.

9. There are, however, some instances in certain societies in which groups, victims of racialistic practices, have themselves applied doctrines with racist implications in their struggle for freedom. Such an attitude is a

secondary phenomenon, a reaction stemming from man's search for an identity which prior racist theory and racialistic practices denied them. Nonetheless, the new forms of racist ideology, resulting from this prior exploitation, have no justification in biology. They are a product of a political struggle and have no scientific foundation.

10. In order to undermine racism it is not sufficient that biologists should expose its fallacies. It is also necessary that psychologists and sociologists should demonstrate its causes. The social structure is always an important factor. However, within the same social structure, there may be great individual variation in racialistic behavior, associated with the personality of the individuals and their personal circumstances.

11. The committee of experts agreed on the following conclusions about the social causes of racial prejudice:

    a. Social and economic causes of racial prejudice are particularly observed in settler societies wherein are found conditions of great disparity of power and property, in certain urban areas where there have emerged ghettoes in which individuals are deprived of equal access to employment, housing, political participation, education, and the administration of justice, and in many societies where social and economic tasks which are deemed to be contrary to the ethics or beneath the dignity of its members are assigned to a group of different origins who are derided, blamed, and punished for taking on these tasks.

    b. Individuals with certain personality troubles may be particularly inclined to adopt and manifest racial prejudices. Small groups, associations, and social movements of a certain kind sometimes preserve and transmit racial prejudices. The foundations of the prejudices lie, however, in the economic and social system of a society.

    c. Racism tends to be cumulative. Discrimination deprives a group of equal treatment and presents that group as a problem. The group then tends to be blamed for its own condition, leading to further elaboration of racist theory.

12. The major techniques for coping with racism involve changing those social situations which give rise to prejudice, preventing the prejudiced from acting in accordance with their beliefs, and combating the false beliefs themselves.

13. It is recognized that the basically important changes in the social structure that may lead to the elimination of racial prejudice may require

decisions of a political nature. It is also recognized, however, that certain agencies of enlightenment, such as education and other means of social and economic advancement, mass media, and law can be immediately and effectively mobilized for the elimination of racial prejudice.

14. The school and other instruments for social and economic progress can be one of the most effective agents for the achievement of broadened understanding and the fulfilment of the potentialities of man. They can equally much be used for the perpetuation of discrimination and inequality. It is therefore essential that the resources for education and for social and economic action of all nations be employed in two ways:

    [i] The schools should ensure that their curricula contain scientific understandings about race and human unity, and that distinctions about peoples are not made in texts and classrooms.

    [ii] a. Because the skills to be gained in formal and vocational education become increasingly important with the processes of technological development, the resources of the schools and other resources should be fully available to all parts of the population with neither restriction nor discrimination.

    b. Furthermore, in cases where, for historical reasons, certain groups have a lower average education and economic standing, it is the responsibility of the society to take corrective measures. These measures should ensure, so far as possible, that the limitations of poor environments are not passed onto the children.

    In view of the importance of teachers in any educational programme, special attention should be given to their training. Teachers should be made conscious of the degree to which they reflect the prejudices which may be current in their society. They should be encouraged to avoid these prejudices.

15. Governmental units and other organizations concerned should give special attention to improving the housing situations and work opportunities available to victims of racism. This will not only counteract the effects of racism, but in itself can be a positive way of modifying racist attitudes and behaviour.

16. The media of mass communication are increasingly important in promoting knowledge and understanding, but their exact potentiality is not fully known. Continuing research into the social utilization of the media is needed in order to assess their influence in relation to formation of

attitudes and behavioral patterns in the field of race prejudice and race discrimination. Because the mass media reach vast numbers of people at different educational and social levels, their role in encouraging or combatting race prejudice can be crucial. Those who work in these media should maintain a positive approach to the promotion of understanding between groups and populations. Representation of peoples in stereotypes and holding them up to ridicule should be avoided. Attachment to news reports of racial designations which are not germane to the accounts should also be avoided.

17. Law is among the most important means of ensuring equality between individuals and one of the most effective means of fighting racism.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 10 December 1948 and the related international agreements and conventions which have taken effect subsequently can contribute effectively, on both the national and international level, to the fight against any injustice of racist origin.

National legislation is a means of effectively outlawing racist propaganda and acts based upon racial discrimination. Moreover, the policy expressed in such legislation must bind not only the courts and judges charged with its enforcement, but also all agencies of government of whatever level or whatever character.

It is not claimed that legislation can immediately eliminate prejudice. Nevertheless, by being a means of protecting the victims of acts based upon prejudice, and by setting a moral example backed by the dignity of the courts, it can, in the long run, even change attitudes.

18. Ethnic groups which represent the object of some form of discrimination are sometimes accepted and tolerated by dominating groups at the cost of their having to abandon completely their cultural identity. It should be stressed that the effort of these ethnic groups to preserve their cultural values should be encouraged. They will thus be better able to contribute to the enrichment of the total culture of humanity.

19. Racial prejudice and discrimination in the world today arise from historical and social phenomena and falsely claim the sanction of science. It is, therefore, the responsibility of all biological and social scientists, philosophers, and others working in related disciplines, to ensure that the results of their research are not misused by thosé who wish to propagate racial prejudice and encourage discrimination.

APPENDIX B

The Status System of a Texas Panhandle Community*

by Wilfrid C. Bailey
The University of Texas

This paper is a brief report on one aspect of study of the culture of a Texas Panhandle community (Bailey, 1952). The project was financed jointly by the "Comparative Study of Values in Five Cultures" Project of the Laboratory of Social Science Division of the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Research Institute of the University of Texas. The field work was done in the summer and fall of 1950. It is recognized that the period of field work was rather short in terms of the data obtained. However, due to the fact that there is a major lack of published data for most types of Texas communities, it is thought best to present some of the material collected. The statements made in this paper are therefore of a preliminary nature. The major objective is to suggest a pattern that can be tested and modified in the light of further research in this area and other parts of Texas.

The community studied was Cotton Center, Texas, an unincorporated farming community in western Hale County, thirteen miles southwest of Hale Center. In 1950, Cotton Center community consisted of two churches, two stores, two blacksmith shops, two cotton gins, a school, a filling station, a butane dealer, a cafe, a self service laundry, a post office, and a number of houses. About one hundred people live in the village cluster, and another three or four hundred in the surrounding farms consider themselves as living in the Cotton Center community. For purposes of analysis the Cotton Center School District was taken as the area of study.

The community is completely dependent upon farming. The handful of businesses are completely dependent upon the farmers. Cotton Center is located where the northern fringe of the cotton belt overlaps the southern boundary of the Plains wheat belt. The other major crop is grain sorghum. Although ranching has gone, cattle are still raised and permanent pasture is an important introduction. The level of farm income is uniformly high and the standard of living has in recent years become almost equal to town living. This South Plains irrigation area is one of the few agricultural regions in the State to show an increase in population. The country is still growing and community attitudes reflect this growth. Many of the details of the status structure of Cotton Center are to be related to its history and development.

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*Reprinted from THE TEXAS JOURNAL OF SCIENCE, Vol. V, No. 3.

The people in Cotton Center seem to have the same background. That is, they moved into the area from central and eastern Texas and from Oklahoma. Their families had in turn moved from the Old South. In spite of this uniformity of population it was found that the people were divided into a number of different groups that indicated social ranking. These social rankings or status positions and their interrelationships are diagrammed in figure 1.

The community nucleus is composed of farm operators and a few businessmen. This is not a uniformly integrated group and is split along several cleavage planes. Horizontally the community is divided into two groups on the basis of the time of settlement in the area. The Old Timers represent families that moved in first. Traditionally they were ranchers. Actually, most of them were "nesters" who homesteaded or bought land between the large ranch spreads. Their ambition was to be ranchers, but many of them were dependent partially on grain farming.

After the arrival of the first railroad in 1907, farming became increasingly important, with a boom taking place in the middle 1920s. The Old Timers define themselves as being members of the group who arrived before 1924, a date correlated with the building of the second railroad and followed by the breaking up of the last big ranch spread in the area. The boom brought a new crop, cotton, and in 1925 the first cotton gin in Cotton Center was built. Cotton was introduced by poor, land-hungry farmers from eastern Texas and Oklahoma. With cotton came migrant labor. The Old Timers looked upon the cotton farmer as an intruder. One of the early settlers describes the situation as follows:

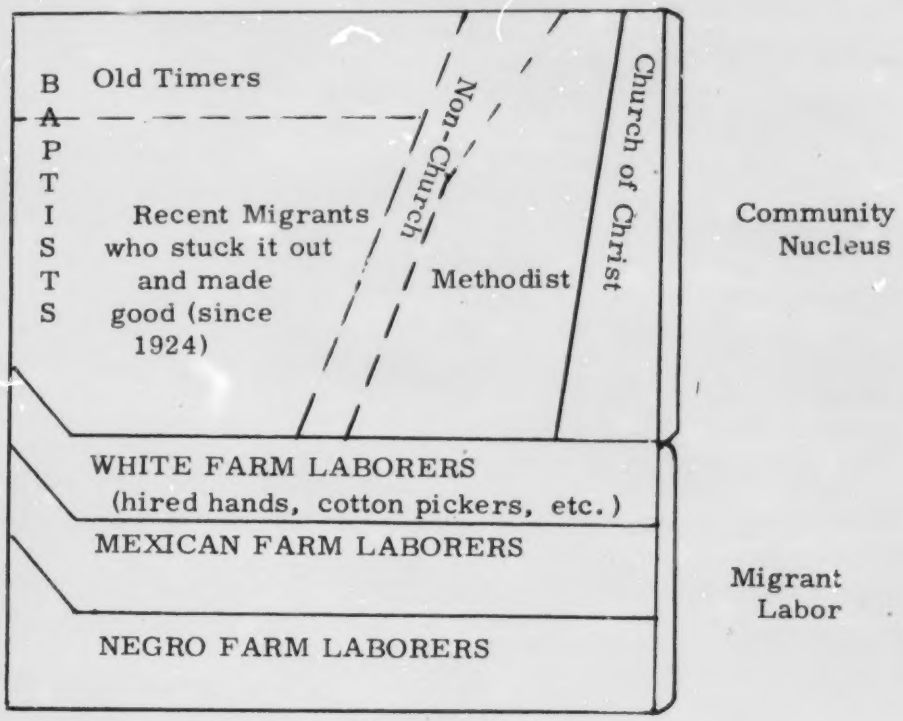
> We never locked our doors or worried about hot checks until then. Most of them were no-goods who never had anything and were looking for cheap land. Fortunately most of them didn't make good and moved on. A few did stay and they are some of the wealthiest people in the community. Those who came a little later were from down off the Cap Rock and from western Oklahoma. Let the soil begin to blow and they are out working on it.

The newer groups recognize the Old Timers as a distinct and powerful group. They are considered to be the ones who are running the community. The investigator was repeatedly warned to stay away from the Old Timers. "Never cross one of them," and "They all stick together," were frequent statement. Much of the resentment against the older group was tied up in the land problem. Most of the newer people were forced to rent from the Old Timers. Today about one-third of the farmers are renters. Three members of the older group own almost all of the village site of Cotton

Center and lease lots for stores and houses. Numerous people expressed the opinion that Cotton Center would be as big as Hale Center if businessmen could buy land on which they could erect modern buildings.

To a large extent a similar situation exists with the farm lands. New arrivals are frequently forced to rent from the Old Timers. One man owns 2700 acres of farm land, and another 3500 acres is part of an estate. Some of the farms are rented from retired farmers or the heirs of the earlier group.

figure 1.



Social stratification in Cotton Center

The social division is institutionalized in the three church groups represented in the community. The Baptist Church is the oldest and largest of the three. Most of the officers in community organizations are members. Such positions include the whole school board, which has had the same president for fourteen years, presidents of the two home demonstration clubs, president of the co-op cotton gin, etc. All but one of the local businessmen are associated with this group. The membership in the Baptist Church seems

represent the old established and conservative element in the community. The power position of many of the Old Timers is institutionalized by participation in this group. New people who are conservative have aligned themselves with the Baptists.

The Methodist Church has a much smaller membership and has been in the community for about ten years. The Methodist leadership is primarily from newer people in the area. A high percentage of the membership are renters. Methodists are strong in the local Farm Bureau and the Parent-Teachers Association. The latter was organized to fight the policies and the control of the Baptist dominated school board.

The Church of Christ has a strong core in Cotton Center. It represents an old stable group in the community. The Church of Christ organization and doctrine builds up a strong group solidarity. Its members tend to participate primarily with each other and to separate from the Baptist dominated community activity. At the time of the study they did not have a building in Cotton Center and were going to Hale Center. They were in the midst of negotiating for a building site. Many people said that the Baptist Old Timers had kept the other churches out of the community. The school board had refused the Methodists use of the school building, and it was not until 1950 that they were able to obtain a lot and erect a building.

The independent or non-church, especially the Old Timers, interact with the Baptist group. These three church groups form rather clear cleavage planes along which the community splits on various issues. Although the differences are important, they do not constitute clearly stratified groups. They are more or less parallel, with the Baptists pinching out the Methodists in leadership positions. The wealthiest family in the community, and the one with the highest status outside of the community, belongs to the Church of Christ.

Beneath these nearly parallel groups are the various levels of agricultural laborers. At the top are the hired hands and white cotton pickers. They are highly mobile and do not stay in the community very long. Most of them are considered to be "Poor White Trash" and only a small part of them become a recognized part of the community.

In reality this migrant white labor group has furnished a large percentage of the present population. Many of the settlers of the 1920s were members of this group. They were hunting work and land. A few stayed but most moved on. Some went as far as California and others homesteaded in New Mexico. The latter frequently returned seasonally to earn cash picking cotton. Those who stay and become a part of the community do so by becoming farm operators. Two seemingly typical life histories illustrate this pattern:

I was one of a family of ten children raised in Arkansas. As soon as we got big enough to work we had to make our own way. One summer I worked the wheat harvest and on the way home stopped to visit an uncle in Oklahoma. He told me that they were paying good wages for picking cotton in Texas. I worked my way across the Panhandle. I ended up by getting a job on a ranch. After I married, I rented a place for ten years and three years ago managed to buy this place from a man who retired and went to California.

In 1928 my brother stopped here while picking cotton. The next year I came with him. For two years we worked for wages. We saved enough to make a down payment on a second hand tractor and rented a place.

Beneath the white groups are two caste-like divisions to which the Mexicans and Negroes belong. Both groups are primarily migrant laborers. Few of them become a permanent part of Cotton Center community. One lone Negro man has worked for one family for many years, and an occasional Mexican stays for a year as a hired man.

The Mexicans come to Cotton Center as a part of their yearly migration cycle. Formerly Cotton Center was on the northern fringe of the cotton picking movement. Now the Mexican labor comes from a different group. In recent years a large group of them have been migrating directly from the lower Rio Grande Valley to the sugar beet fields in Colorado. Each fall they go back to their homes in the Valley. Some of them stop on the way to pick this late cotton. When the frosts come they move on and the farmers turn to machines. The farmers say that this new group of Mexicans is of a more desirable type.

The attitudes toward the influx of migrant Mexicans are somewhat contradictory. The merchants like to see them come because of the increase in business. Socially the feelings are different. There is only limited interaction with the whites. Contacts in the school are limited by either having a vacation at the height of the season or going on a half-day schedule. The Mexican children will go in the morning so that they can work in the afternoon. In the Hale Center theatre the Mexicans are informally segregated in one corner. At the height of the season they attend special Spanish-language shows.

The Negroes form a distinct group at the bottom of the hierarchy. The customary pattern of segregation prevails. Some anxiety was expressed because a number of Negro families were settling permanently on the edge of Hale Center. In 1951 Hale Center opened its first Negro school. It will be important to watch the development of attitudes as the permanent Negro and

Mexican population grows....

This has been a description of the status structure in one Texas community. Further study is needed. First, this has been a descriptive study and the structure outlined needs to be quantitatively studied and tested. Secondly, there is a definite need for a series of studies sampling the different regions and types of communities in Texas. Only then can the State as a whole be understood.

APPENDIX C

Cases of Prejudice and Discrimination

As Reported by a State Commission on Human Rights

A Missouri Commission on Human Rights compliance agreement with Krey Packing Company of St. Louis has resulted in positive steps by company officials, according to Forrest P. Carson, Commission chairman.

The employment discrimination complaint was filed with the Commission on July 5, 1966 by Percy Green, leader of Action Council to Improve Opportunities for Negroes (ACTION), a St. Louis civil rights group.

Green filed the grievance on behalf of 10 Negro employees of the company. He charged that Krey employed Negroes only as menial laborers, that company policy blocked Negroes from better positions, and that discriminatory practices often threatened job security. About half of the company's plant workers are Negro.

Wayman F. Smith, III, assistant compliance director for the Commission, and Harold Huhn, administrative assistant to the company president, negotiated a conciliation agreement which called for a positive program to place Negroes in a variety of jobs with the company.

Huhn was also designated by the company to see that "each and every provision of this agreement" is carried out. He promised that "any violation of this policy by any employee of the company shall result in disciplinary action, and where appropriate, discharge."

The company agreed to advertise and to notify each employee of its policy of equal opportunity, to modernize transfer procedures between departments on the basis of plant rather than departmental seniority, and to post all notices of available job positions at the main entrance to the company.

A recent Commission inspection of the company revealed that Negroes are now holding positions they previously had not held, such as key punch operators, data processing computer operators, offset printers, messengers, plant guards and truck drivers.

* * *

A conciliation agreement has been reached following a complaint of racial discrimination against a Steele, Missouri dentist, Forrest P. Carson, chairman of the Missouri Commission on Human Rights, announced.

Dr. L. R. Moore had been charged with using separate waiting rooms for white and Negro patients, in violation of the Missouri Public Accommodations Act.

The Negro complainant had alleged that when she entered the dentist's waiting room for whites on August 21, 1967, the receptionist directed her to a different waiting room for Negroes, which had a sign reading "colored." Dr. Moore removed the sign after a Commission field representative contacted him.

Following investigation and conciliation by the Commission, Dr. Moore has agreed to:

--Advise the complainant that she may use all his facilities on the same conditions as the general public.

--Post the Commissions Public Accommodations notice in a location visible to all patients.

--Admit all patients without discrimination.

--Instruct his employees to refrain from directing patients to either waiting room.

***

The Missouri Commission on Human Rights has satisfactorily adjusted a complaint by nine Negroes against Sands Lounge, Sikeston....

The complainants had alleged that they entered Sands Lounge on April 24, 1968, went to a table and sat down. A waitress came to the table, and before anyone spoke to her, told the group they could buy beer only if they would take it outside and drink it elsewhere.

Investigation revealed probable cause to believe that racial discrimination occurred, and that the waitress was carrying out the wishes of the owner in denying service because of race.

The owner of Sands Lounge now has agreed to:

--Admit and serve all patrons without discrimination or segregation because of race, color, creed, religion, national origin or ancestry.

--Instruct his employees to stop directing Negro customers to drink their beverages off the premises.

***

July 11, 1968--the Missouri Commission on Human Rights has ordered the South Kansas City Recreation Club to end its discrimination in violation of state law.

The decision follows a public hearing last October 2 and 3 in Kansas City. The hearing was the first held under the 1965 Missouri Public Accommodations Act.

The park had refused to admit Staff Sgt. Frederick Peoples, a Negro, because of his race on July 27, 1967.

A complaint was then filed against the South Kansas City Recreation Club, Kernodles Park, Inc.

Investigation revealed probable cause to believe discrimination occurred. Attempts to conciliate the case failed.

The ruling orders the respondents to:

--Cease and desist from their unlawful discrimination.

--Dissolve the corporation known as the South Kansas City Recreation Club, Inc.

--Advise Frederick Peoples that he may use the respondents' facilities equally with other persons.

--To advise all persons who purport to be members of the club that the South Kansas City Recreation Club, Inc., has been disbanded and that Kernodle's Recreation Park is to be operated as a place of public accommodation for all persons regardless of race, creed, color, religion, national origin or ancestry.

--To post at the entrance gate to the park the state public accommodations poster.

--To report to the Commission within 30 days and periodically thereafter for two years on their compliance with the order.

In its ruling, the hearing panel stated that the South Kansas City Recreation Club, Inc., failed to meet the requirements of a private club. Private clubs, which are exempt from the Public Accommodations Act, must demonstrate that they are non-profit, open to members only, and under the control of their membership.

"There is little doubt," the ruling stated, "from the record that this establishment was operated as a facility open to all who desired to pay the membership fee except Negroes."

***

Sunnydale Mobile Home Park of St. Charles has agreed not to discriminate against any person because of race, creed, color, religion, national origin or ancestry, Richard E. Risk, executive director of the Missouri Commission on Human Rights, announced today.

Jackson Montgomery, an electrical engineer, moved with his wife and daughter from Alabama to Missouri and inquired about a space in the trailer court on February 18, 1967.

The assigned commissioner found probable cause to believe Sunnydale refused to let Montgomery park his house trailer at the court, although there were empty spaces, because Montgomery is a Negro.

Said Risk, "The commission has received a number of complaints against mobile home parks. They continue to be a problem around Fort Leonard Wood, St. Charles County, and St. Louis County. The owners and managers of these trailer courts should be aware that discrimination based on race, creed, color, religion, national origin or ancestry violates both state and federal laws."

***

Two St. Louis area complaints of racial discrimination in public accommodations have resulted in compliance agreements with the Missouri Commission on Human Rights.

The cases involve a Maplewood doctor and Behlmann Associates, a St. Louis land development firm and home construction company.

Behlmann Associates has agreed to:

--Open its housing developments to all persons without discrimination or segregation because of race, creed, color, religion, national origin or ancestry.

--Sell homes to Negroes and other minority groups without discrimination in any manner, including financing.

--Instruct its employees not to discriminate.

--Advise the complainant that her Negro friends may buy homes without discrimination.

--Post the Commission's public accommodations poster.

--Cease from discussing race, creed, religion, national origin or ancestry of prospective patrons with home owners before selling property in the Pare Chateau Development. The complainant said she was told the developer would have to talk to residents in the development before selling a house to a Negro couple.

***

In the other case, Dr. Moore has agreed to:

--Admit and serve all patients without discrimination or segregation because of race, creed, color, religion, national origin or ancestry.

--Instruct his employees not to discriminate.

--Advise the Negro complainant that he may use the doctor's services on the same terms as the general public.

--Post the Commission's public accommodations poster.

The complainant alleged that last March 29, he decided to consult a foot specialist. He used the listing, "Podiatrist-D.S.C." in the St. Louis telephone directory. He called Dr. Moore's number and talked with a receptionist.

The receptionist asked the complainant whether he was white or colored, and he replied that he was Negro. She then informed him that "the doctor does not treat colored."

***

APPENDIX D

A Catechism on Race and Racial Prejudice

1. What do we mean by race?

Race is a biological term. Synonyms which could be used for race are variety, breed, stock, and strain. Just as there are different varieties of cattle (one species), there are different varieties of man (one species). The confusion in the use of the word race results from the fact that it has been applied to religion (e.g., "Jewish race"); language (e.g., "Semitic," "Aryan"); and other culture traits.

2. Is there a Jewish race?

No. Jews are followers of Judaism, the name of the Jewish religion. Another name for Jew is Hebrew. Jews have many different physical characteristics according to geographic location. Some are light skinned, blue eyed, with blond hair; others have darker skin, brown eyes, and straight, black hair. In Northwest Europe, Jews resemble other Northwest European people. In Yemen, the Jews resembled the Muslim residents. Just as Christians and Muslims (followers of Islam) come in various shades of black, yellow, red and white, Jews come in many different colors.

3. Is there a Semitic race?

No. Semitic refers to a language family. Among the Semitic languages are: Hebrew, Phoenician, Arabic, Aramaic, and Amharic. Home of this language family was the Near East and Northeast Africa. There are Negroid as well as Cavcasoid peoples who speak Semitic languages.

4. Is there an Aryan race?

No. This term, like Semite, refers to an Indo-European language group. In the nineteenth century, the term was used to associate certain allegedly superior physical traits with a language group. The concept was revived by the Nazis who used Aryan as a term to contrast their idea of the Germans being superior and the Jews (Semitic speaking) inferior. Like Semitic, however, Aryan has nothing to do with physical traits but only the structure of language for communication.

5. Have African Negroes ever developed any civilization of their own?

Yes. While Europeans were just beginning to develop nation-states, African Negro cultures had established large empires with complex political and economic systems and had made advances in science and art. One early empire was the Kingdom of Ghana, another was the Mali Empire. The Kingdom of Songhay was still another. Timbuctu was noted for its university, doctors, judges, priests and other scholars. The Negroes of Guinea developed highly organized states with cities and villages. In Dahomey in about 1850, a European commented that he found a nation of law and order "I never lost anything, except what was stolen by my people from the coasts."

6. Do races have characteristic odors?

Regardless of race, if a person does not bathe or wears stale clothing, chances are he will have an offensive smell. Sweat is actually odorless as it first appears on the body. The odor is due to the mixture of sweat with bacteria on the body. Diet also appears to be related to body odor.

7. Are Negroes more athletic than whites?

No. The increase of the number of Negro athletes in professional sports has reinforced this misconception. The area of athletics as well as show business has been relatively open to minority group members. Irish, Jews and Italians have used success in athletics and entertainment as a means of social mobility in the past. Today, the Negro is using it; tomorrow may bring still another minority group.

8. Are Negroes multiplying at a greater rate than whites?

No. Between 1950 and 1960 the white population in the U.S. increased over twenty million. In the same period, the Negro population increased by about four million. In 1850 there were slightly less than six whites for every Negro. Today the ratio is about nine whites to every one Negro in the U.S.A.

9. Do races have different types of blood?

No. Types A, O, B, and AB are found throughout the world. However, the frequency of a type varies by race.

10. Can people receive blood transfusions from persons of a different race?

Yes. But the blood type must be compatible as to its chemical composition.

11. Do some races have more "bad" blood than others?

Some factors seem to be genetic. Two of the best known are the Rh factors and sicklaemia. About 15 percent of the white population is Rh negative. In second and later pregnancies, an Rh negative mother can pass through the placenta antigens to an Rh positive fetus, bringing about red blood cell clotting. If the fetus does not die before birth, the remedy is to replace the baby's blood with transfusions.

Among Negroes, the sicklaemia trait is related to protection against malaria. The sickling trait varies from 7 percent among American Negroes to as high as 40% among East African Negroes. Negroes homozygous with the sickling trait may die of anemia (SS). Negroes heterozygous with the sickling trait develop a slight case of malaria but do not die of anemia (NS). Normal homozygous individuals (NN) may die of malaria. The sickling trait is therefore protective as far as malaria is concerned, but otherwise harmful.

12. Are there many distinctive diseases related to race?

The genetically-minded have a tendency to link race and disease. Some of these are familial fever among Mediterranean peoples; priquine drug sensitivity among Negroes; and favism or hemolytic anemia which occurs among peoples of the Mediterranean.

How much of this results from culture and how much from genetics is difficult to say. Diabetes was once thought of as a disease of the European population. It is now found in many different parts of the world where such people as Africans, Indians and Japanese take on some of the eating habits of Europeans. Some people, like Yeminite Jews or Zulu, previously thought free of coronary disorders, have developed coronary diseases as their habits have changed.

Race is always found in association with culture. It is difficult in many cases to determine what aspect of disease is genetic and therefore racial, and what aspect is cultural and has to do with the chemical reaction of the body to learned behavior patterns and not inheritance.

13. Haven't more recent studies proven that there is a genetic difference in intelligence between whites and blacks?

No, but it is likely that there will be an increased effort to explain differences in achievement based on race. One reason is that it is such a neat way of simplifying complicated evidence.

It has been a hundred years since Francis Galton published his book Hereditary Genius, and it is perhaps time for the fashion to swing once more in the direction of genetic explanations. An English geneticist, Cyril Dean Darlington, takes the extreme view that culture is genetically based. (See Genetics and Man, 1964; Evolution of Man and Society, 1969). Arthur Jensen, an American psychologist, has recently raised the question of genetic differences in intelligence among whites and blacks (Harvard Educational Review, Winter 1969).

14. Are some races of men more like apes than other races?

This question is one of the most absurd in the history of racial bugaboos. Man belongs to one species, the apes to another. Furthermore, while men and apes belong to the super-family Hominoidea, they both belong to different families and genera. The speciation (forming of new species) which led to the emergence of the Pongidae (apes) and Hominidae (man) probably had origins in the Oligocene epoch, 40 million years ago. Now the best evidence seems to point to the fact that there was no "great chain of being" from the simplest to the highest form (man) with some kind of missing link between man and ape. Instead, Pongidae and Homidae have had separate evolutionary developments.

There are four groups of apes today: chimpanzees, gibbons, gorillas, and orangutans. No single ape resembles man in all traits more than the rest. For the purpose of biological classification, it is useful to note similarities and differences among species. But all men belong to the same species and, if one race of man looks more like the gorilla in some traits, another race will resemble the gorilla more in other traits.

For the taxonomically minded, here is a taxonomy of man and ape:

Kingdom: Animal
Phylum: Chordate
Sub-Phylum: Vertebrate
Class: Mammal
Sub-class: Placental
Order: Primates
Sub-order: Anthropoidea (apes, new and old world monkeys, man)

Superfamily: Homioidea (apes and man)
Family: Pongidae (apes)
Sub-family: Hylobotinae (gibbon)
Sub-family: Ponginae
Genus: Gorilla
Species: Gorilla gorilla
Genus: Pongo (orangutan)
Species: Pongo pymaeus
Genus: Pan (chimpanzee)
Species: Pan satyrus
Family: Hominidae (man)
Genus: Australopitheous (extinct)
Genus: Homo
Species: Homo erectus (extinct)
Species: Homo sapiens (many fossil examples)
Sub-species: Homo sapiens spaelus (extinct)
Sub-species: Homo sapiens neanderthalensis (extinct)
Sub-species: Homo sapiens sapiens --Cro-Magnon to Modern Man Races: etc.

15. Do racial stocks differ in brain size, and is this related to intelligence?

Physical anthropologists have found that different groups and stocks of people have different average brain sizes and weights. The following table illustrates these differences:

Group	Brain size
Amahosa (Negro African)	1490 cc
Buriats (Mongol)	1496 cc
Eskimos	1563 cc
Iroquois Indians	1519 cc
Koreans	1490 cc
Algonquin Indians	1532 cc
American Negroes	1350 cc
White American	1391 cc

Certain Negro groups in Africa, Japanese, American Indians, Eskimos, and Mongols on the average have brain sizes greater than whites. But this does not mean that these groups have greater intelligence than whites any more than whites can be regarded as more intelligent than Negro Americans.

16. Are race and culture the same or are there racial cultures?

Although it is true that people belonging to a particular culture may be of the same racial stock, it is not true that all people of the same race have the same culture. For example, the Negro American has a culture quite different from African Negroes. Similarly, Caucasians living in a Balkan village have a culture very different from Caucasians living in Atlanta, Georgia. Michael Leiris vividly points out the distinction between race and culture when he states:

> Whereas race is strictly a question of heredity, culture is essentially one of tradition in the broadest sense, which includes the formal training of the young in a body of knowledge or a creed, the inheriting of customs or attitudes from previous generations, the borrowing of techniques or fashions from other countries, the spread of opinions through propaganda or conversation, the adoption--or "selling"--of new products or devices, or even the circulation of legends or jests by word of mouth. In other words, tradition in this sense covers provinces clearly unconnected with biological heredity and all alike consisting in the transmission, by word of mouth, image or mere example, or characteristics which, taken together, differentiate a milieu, society or group of societies throughout a period of reasonable length and thus constitute its culture. [Race and Culture. UNESCO, Paris, 1958, p. 21.]

17. Is there a superior race?

Whether or not something or some race is superior depends on what criteria one uses to determine superiority. Such criteria often involve value judgments which are not valid to scientists. In terms of physical and mental abilities there is no one race which is superior to another. As anthropologist Ethel Alpenfels stated, "There are only superior individuals, and they are members of all races." [Sense and Nonsense about Race. Friendship Press, 1946, p. 46.]

The belief that one's own race is superior has existed since ancient times. More recently a psuedo-scientific approach has developed among racists. The pseudo-scientific white racist of today is willing to grant that Negroes are superior in some ways and whites are superior in others. For example, they grant Negroes superiority when it comes to rhythm, domestic work, certain athletics (running), and perspiration. On the other hand, the same racists say whites are superior in reasoning, intelligence, adaptation to Western civilization and creativity.

Juan Comas in Racial Myths discusses the question of racial superiority and concludes the following:

> The growing discontent of the people of India, the development of racial feeling among the Negroes, and the self-confidence displayed by the Japanese, Chinese and Indonesian peoples, are among many proofs that the races hitherto despised for their supposed inferiority are every day less ready to accept the judgment on their qualities passed by certain elements in the white races.
>
> Democracy recognizes the existence of differences between men, but considers that all men possess the same inalienable rights and seeks to afford all men equal political, social and economic opportunities.
>
> Totalitarianism also accepts the differences between men and peoples as inevitable but holds that they imply the principles of obedience to the will of a 'master' race expressed through 'superior-men.' Its concern is to enslave all who are capable of falling-in with the will of the 'masters' and to exterminate all those unable to make themselves units in the totalitarian world. [UNESCO Publication, p. 46-47.]

18. Doesn't talking about race make the problem worse?

Did being ostrich-like and pretending there was no race problem in the United States keep us from having many ugly confrontations between whites and blacks? Talking about race may not solve the problem, but it is one way to get people to think about what is to be done about education, jobs, and housing for minority groups. Your grandfathers didn't want to talk about race. Perhaps you've got to, if you don't want your grandchildren faced with the same inequalities with which you are having to grow up.

APPENDIX E

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KEY: G = General
TG = Teachers and Students
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STUDENT HANDBOOK

TO

RACE, CASTE, AND PREJUDICE

by

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Publication No. 70-4
ANTHROPOLOGY CURRICULUM PROJECT
University of Georgia
November 1970

(I)

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Anthropology Curriculum Project

(II)

Student and Teacher Handbook
to
Race, Caste, and Prejudice

This handbook has been designed to assist students and their teacher in the use of the textbook, Race, Caste, and Prejudice. The Handbook is organized into four main areas: suggested activities, objectives questions and answers, discussion questions, and a glossary with a suggested reading guide for the text.

Suggested activities. Twenty-seven activities are suggested in this guide. It will not be possible for you to do each of the 27 activities, so you should study the activity section and select particular ones that interest you. Groups of students may work on different activities and individual students on other activities. Some activities require more time than others while other activities can be completed in one day, so IT IS IMPORTANT THAT YOU FAMILIARIZE YOURSELF WITH ALL OF THE SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES AND BEGIN MAKING YOUR PLANS.

Objective questions and answers. Recall questions from each chapter have been designed to help you in studying the text. Instructions for using this section are found on page 49. This is a study aid but will not substitute for studying the text itself.

Discussion and analytical questions. These questions follow the chapter organization of the recall questions, however they will require that you apply comparing skills, interpretive skills, and problem solving skills. This section begins on page 68.

Glossary. The glossary for Race, Caste and Prejudice is a modified glossary-index. It contains both definitions of terms and suggested readings.

Definition of terms. Race, Caste, and Prejudice differs from other textbooks that you have used in the past. The difference lies in the fact that you are about to study an area which is complex, and it is necessary for you to understand the vocabulary if you are to understand the text. To assist you in your reading, your Handbook contains a modified glossary-index. New terms are defined in the glossary in the

order that they appear in the text. You will find it helpful to study the terms before you begin reading the text. For example, if you are about to read pages 19-23 in the text, turn to the glossary first and read the definitions for the terms that appear on pages 19-23 in the text.

Suggested Readings. The glossary in addition to defining terms contains a suggested division of readings for Race, Caste, and Prejudice. Fifteen readings have been identified by the authors as arbitrary points of division for using the text (see Table of Contents, p. v.). The suggested readings are correlated to the definition of terms in the glossary.

The time required to study this unit will vary with class interest. Other classes that have used this unit have required a minimum of 20 teaching days; however the time will be dependent on your use of the suggested activities and your interest.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		PAGE
INTRODUCTION		ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS		iv
I. ACTIVITIES		1
1.	Newspaper and Magazine Articles, General	2
2.	Application of Field Methodology to Study of Race, Caste, and Prejudice	3
3.	Editorial Analysis	5
4.	The Interview with an Informant	6
5.	Literature	7
6.	Songs	10
7.	Religion	12
8.	Role Playing	13
9.	Simulation	19
10.	Open-ended Stories	21
11.	Use of Resource People	25
12.	Hate Literature	26
13.	Anthropological Comparison of Physical Characteristics	29
14.	Historical Scholarship	30
15.	Legal Developments	31
16.	Housing	32
17.	Movies	33
18.	Preference vs. Discrimination	34
19.	Social Classes	35
20.	Jobs	36
21.	Working with Peers of Another Ethnic Group	37
22.	Coming into Contact with Poverty	38
23.	Extremist Organizations	40
24.	Mock United Nations Session on Human Rights	42
25.	Stereotyping	43
26.	Comparison of Individual and Class Attitudinal Responses with a National Poll	46
27.	Reverse Discrimination	48

II. RECALL QUESTIONS 49

Chapter 1. Race 50
Chapter 2. Social Class and Caste 55
Chapter 3. Prejudice and Ethnocentrism 62

III. DISCUSSION AND ANALYTIC QUESTIONS 68

Chapter 1. Race 68
Chapter 2. Social Class and Caste 70
Chapter 3. Prejudice and Ethnocentrism 72

IV. GLOSSARY 74

Chapter 1. Race

First Reading (Text pages 1-6) 76-81
Second Reading (Text pages 6-19) 81-84
Third Reading (Text pages 19-23) 84-85
Fourth Reading (Text pages 23-31) 85-88
Fifth Reading (Appendix A--133-137) 108-109
Sixth Reading (Text pages 31-40) 88

Chapter 2. Social Class and Caste

First Reading (Text pages 41-47 89-91
Second Reading (Text pages 47-58) 91-94
Third Reading (Text pages 58-71) 94-96
Fourth Reading (Text pages 71-87) 96
Fifth Reading (Text pages 87-90) 97-98

Chapter 3. Prejudice and Ethnocentrism

First Reading (Text pages 91-100) 98-101
Second Reading (Text pages 100-109) 101-104
Third Reading (Text pages 109-119) 104-106
Fourth Reading (Text pages 119-132) 106-107

ACTIVITIES

The following activities can be viewed as long-range projects or special short-range problems. Some should be started as soon as possible and run the entire period of the unit. Others should be planned and employed at a time in which the students will derive maximum benefit. The former is referred to as long-range activities; the latter, short-range activities. The teacher and pupils should select those which seem most relevant to the particular class. In some instances, all activities might be employed.

ACTIVITY 1

Newspaper and Magazine Articles, General

The reporting of contemporary events in newspapers and magazines reflects the attitudes and practices of a culture at a given time. The student should be encouraged to read about contemporary events and to identify those reports and events, national and international, which have racial, class, or ethnocentric implications.

Teachers and students need to analyze articles in class in order to become more sensitive to the fact that many articles involve ethnic relations which might not always be obvious in scanning the headlines. For example, an article headlined "Blockbusting Hits West End" might be overlooked if the reader does not know the meaning of blockbusting.

1. Scrapbook. Keep an individual or class scrapbook dealing with ethnic relations. The articles might be organized by topical headings, such as race, class, and religion.

2. Vocabulary development. Keep a list of new words which have particular ethnic connotations.

3. Historical comparison. Riots have occurred at various times in the history of the United States. If newspapers are available, you might wish to compare reporting of the riots of East St. Louis in 1917 and in Washington, D. C., Chicago, New York, Omaha, and other cities in 1919 and Harlem (New York, 1935 and 1943); with the riots of Watts (1965), Detroit (1967), and Newark (1967). Is there any difference in tone of the reporting? (Note: Libraries often have past newspapers reproduced on microfilm. Also check news magazines such as Time.)

4. Other comparisons. The student should not omit or overlook examining and comparing instances of ethnic, racial or religious conflict in other nations.

ACTIVITY 2

Application of Field Methodology to Study of Race, Caste, and Prejudice

The technique of field study is a basic anthropological technique. It involves the actual study by an anthropologist of the way of life of a people by living among them and carefully recording what people do, when they do it, how they do it, and all the other patterns of behavior. This technique is called participant observation.

You can apply the techniques of the anthropologist to the study of race, caste, and prejudice. You can observe what happens around you. In home, at school, on the playground, and on the job, you can act as a participant observer. What instances of race, caste, and prejudice do you see happening about you?

An anthropologist does not always understand what he observes. He must ask questions. This technique is called interviewing. You can get additional insights from people by asking questions about what they do and what they believe. You will note that in our culture there are often differences in what people say ought to be done and what they do.

An anthropologist can not remember everything he observes. Can you remember what you did today a week ago, a month ago? The field notebook is an important anthropological tool. In the field notebook the anthropologist carefully records what he sees and hears so he does not forget it. The field notebook is analyzed for making a report.

The final stage in anthropological field study is the report. This is a written description and analysis of the anthropologist's findings.

The following field methods are suggested.

1. Maintain a field notebook. Record in this notebook your observations about race, caste, and prejudice during the period of this unit. Exclude from this field notebook newspaper and other clippings, which you might perform as another activity.

2. Conduct an interview with selected informants. "Informant" in anthropological terms is a person knowledgeable and articulate in explaining the beliefs and practices of a culture. When you try to conduct interviews, you will find that some persons can not tell you very much, even when they try to cooperate, while others can tell

you a lot more. You might try to select informants who will have different attitudes on race, caste, and prejudice.

3. Do not overlook what comes to your attention through participant observation.

4. Make a report on some phase of race, caste, and prejudice utilizing your field observation and interviews. Were your observations sufficiently extensive to generalize, or must you restrict your interpretation to the information gathered from the particular instances or interviews? If you had the time and money, what kind of sampling techniques could be utilized for a study of race, caste, and prejudice in your city which would permit you to make generalizations?

ACTIVITY 3

Editorial Analysis

Comparing newspaper editorials on the same incident which involves an event related to ethnic relations, could offer insights and understandings to the different ways in which observers view events (i.e., editorials on a speech of some official or concerning some incident.) One might analyze the comparisons in terms of the following questions:

1. Do the reports or editorials agree with what happened?

2. To what kind of reader would the two reports appeal?

3. Do the reports make value judgments?

4. Do the reports support different positions? If so, why?

   (The question of why, might require some energetic students to go beyond the classroom. That is, they might interview the editors of papers.)

ACTIVITY 4

The Interview with an Informant

Assume you are a cultural anthropologist and you are studying a portion of American culture. You want to find out how people define race and some of the beliefs they have about race. One method you might use is the interview method.

Use the following interview questionnaire as a guide and obtain between 7 to 10 interviews. Record each person's response during or after the interview.

Interview Questionnaire

1. What does the word race mean?
2. How many races are there?
3. What are they?
4. Why are there different races?
5. How would you describe these different races?
6. Are there some races you don't care for?

After each interview you might ask yourself these questions:

1. Did the person seem hesitant or nervous about the questions? (Did he become emotional?)
2. Did his answers reflect a knowledge of race as a social concept or as a scientific concept?

ACTIVITY 5

Literature

Novels, poetry, and drama have for centuries been used to entertain, arouse emotions, and to goad the conscience of man. But literature, as with other forms of communication, can be used to debase as well as elevate the moral nature of man.

1. Comparison of books from two different periods. Select, for example, one of Thomas Dixon's books, such as The Clansman, published before World War I (The motion picture Birth of a Nation was based on this book). Are stereotypes presented in this book? If so, what are they? Does literature such as The Clansman hinder or impede race relations?

Harper Lee's To Kill a Mockingbird (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1960) includes vignettes which reject some of the stereotypes presented in The Clansman.

Look up the word zeitgeist. Does this word give any clue as to the prevalence of certain attitudes in a given period? Relate the books to the differences in historical period. Why would a book such as The Clansman have great appeal in the earlier part of the century and why would a book such as To Kill a Mockingbird be more acceptable now?

From what state was Dixon? Lee?

2. Southerners are frequently resentful of criticism of social institutions in the South by Northerners. They point out the tremendous amount of de facto segregation and other discriminatory practices which have existed, and continue to exist, in Northern states.

If you are from the South, however, you might wish to read books by Southerners about Southern institutions and the debasing effect segregation had on the entire region, white as well as black. Two book suggestions are:

Ralph McGill, The South and the Southerner. (Boston: Little Brown, and Co., 1963).

Lillian Smith, Killers of the Dream. (New York: Doubleday, Anchor Books Edition, 1963).

Poetry often reflects the attitudes and beliefs of not only the poet but the society in general at a given point in time. Analyzing a poem can be based on two levels. The first level asks the question, "What is the meaning of the poem to the poet?" The second level asks the question, "What meaning does the poem have to the reader?" It is this second level which will probably concern us more.

Below are listed some poems. The student can locate them in library or English text books. Following the titles of some of the poems are a few questions which might be answered after the reading of the poem. These questions are just beginners, other questions can be asked by students and teachers alike.

Mending Wall by Robert Frost

1. Why does the neighbor in the poem say "Good fences make good neighbors"? From whom did he learn this?

2. Frost obviously feels walls are not necessary but he does not mention this to his neighbor. Why?

3. What does the poem suggest in terms of in-group and out-group?

4. How might the poem be an analogy for a society divided by segregation?

Fifty Years by James Weldon Johnson

This poem describes the life of the American Negro during the period of slavery and the years following.

The Jewish Cemetery at Newport by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow

1. Does the poem coincide with the text's account of the "wandering Jew?"

2. According to the poem, why did Jews flee to America ("drove o'er the sea...")?

The following poems from Shakespeare In Harlem by Langston Hughes, (Alfred A. Knopf, New York 1942) reflect Negro life and views in America.

Me and the Mule (page 29)

Present (page 30)

Free Man (page 31)

Out of Work (page 41)

Ku Klux (page 81)

Ballad of the Man Who's Gone (page 97)

How do these poems reflect Negro life in American society?

Do you think these poems are out-dated? Why? Why not? Explain your position.

(Some students might be interested in reading The Big Sea, an autobiography of Langston Hughes, published by Alfred A. Knopf, 1940).

ACTIVITY 6

Songs

The songs of a people reflect joy and sadness, and are often used as a means, under the guise of entertainment, of social criticism which otherwise would not be acceptable.

The musical Show Boat was produced in 1927, and was later made into two movie versions. Obtain a copy of the lyrics of "Ol' Man River", a song from Show Boat. From whose point of view is the song sung? What social comment is concealed under the guise of entertainment? Your version of the lyrics may begin "Colored folks work on de Mississippi..." while clder versions began, "Niggers work on de Mississippi..." What social changes are reflected in this change of terminology?"

National anthems from different nations can be used to analyze the basic ideals of a given national group. A comparison of different national anthems often brings home the fact that citizens view their nation with a tinge of ethnocentrism.

Songs from musicals by Rogers and Hammerstein offer other springboards for inquiry. In fact, the story in South Pacific has for its theme the meeting of different cultures. Here American meets French, and American meets Polynesian. One song which is quite useful is "Carefully Taught". The problems of people from different cultures coming together is vivid in The King and I.

The song, "Skip a Rope" by Jack Moran and Glenn D. Tubb can be used to point out that prejudice is learned along with other negative attributes of a society or culture.

The song depicts children skipping rope and singing those things which reflect what they have learned. An excerpt of the song reads:

> What was that they said about the Golden Rule?_____
> (Well) never mind the rules, just play to win_____
> And hate your neighbor for the shade of his skin.
>
> Stab him in the back that's the name of the game;
> Mommy and Daddy are who's to blame.

Skip a rope, Skip a rope,

Just listen to your children while they play_____
It's really not funny what the children say, ...

Moran and Tubb, Skip a Rope, Tree Publishing Company, Inc., 1967, Nashville, Tenn.

This song was a major hit during 1968. It was recorded on 45 rpm records by Henson Cargill. Some students will probably recall the song but may not have given the words much thought.

Make up a list of songs which have to do with ethnic relations. To what extent do they transmit stereotypes? To what extent do they serve as social criticism?

ACTIVITY 7

Religion

Many misconceptions about the beliefs and practices of people of other faiths stems from ignorance and lack of knowledge. While it is more difficult, it is more important to understand more about the religion of your neighbor, who follows a faith different from you, than to study about some religion whose followers you will rarely and perhaps never encounter. In the United States, the principal faiths are Christianity and Judaism. The two major divisions in Christianity are Protestant and Roman Catholic. The three major divisions in Judaism are Orthodox, Conservative, and Reformed.

The following are suggested as possible activities in or outside of class:

1. Invite a priest, rabbi, or minister to answer questions about particular beliefs and practices which you are concerned about.

2. Attend a service at a house of worship of another faith. Since ritual and practices differ, you may feel more comfortable if you attend with a friend who is a member of that faith. Afterwards, he can also explain the meaning of certain rituals and symbols.

3. Participate in some interfaith or ecumenical group.

4. Through individual study, attempt to acquire additional perspective about another faith. A telephone call to the office of the minister, priest, or rabbi will give you some references to consult.

5. You might find out if your area has a Panel of American Women. If so, you might invite the Panel to visit with the class.

ACTIVITY 8

Role Playing

The activity of role playing can be very useful if it is well planned. The following suggestions are based on the Panel of Americans Program. However, some modifications are suggested.

1. Phase One of Role Playing: This involves forming a panel of five students. Each student is assigned a role as a member of an ethnic group to which in real life he does NOT belong. For example:

A Baptist student plays the role of a Catholic.
A Catholic student plays the role of a Baptist.
A Methodist student plays the role of a Jew.
A Jewish student plays the role of a Baptist.
A Negro student plays the role of a White Anglo-Saxon Protestant.
A White Anglo-Saxon Protestant plays the role of a Negro.
Etc.

The second step: Involves having the students learn as much as possible about the group they are role playing.

The students prepare a brief 3 to 5-minute speech about their life as a member of the group to which they "belong," i.e., the Baptist student playing the role of the Catholic would tell what it means to him to be an American Catholic.

Each student presents his speech to the class.

Then the other members in the class ask questions to any of the panel members. The panel members respond to questions in terms of the role they are playing.

2. Phase Two: Following the role playing session, students who are actually members of the groups presented in the role playing episode comment on how well they felt the role player did, i.e., an actual Catholic student might find that the non-Catholic student who was role playing a Catholic did not express a view which reflected the attitudes of a real Catholic, or, that he did very well.

3. Phase Three: Following this session, another panel repeats the above process of speech and answering questions. BUT THIS TIME

THERE IS NO ROLE PLAYING. Protestants speak as Protestants, Catholics as Catholics, Negroes, as Negroes, etc.

4. Phase Four: Critique the entire session.

5. Listed below are some of the kinds of questions people ask members of such panels.

Note: These questions have been selected from the Panel of Americans: Handbook, published by Panel of Americans, Inc., New York.

A. Questions asked Protestants:

1. What does it mean to be a Protestant?
2. Why are there so many Protestant denominations?
3. Why are the Protestants so disunited? Is anything being done about it?
4a. What is the main difference between the Protestant and Catholic religions?
4b. What is the main difference between the Protestant and Jewish religions?
5. Do you believe in personal prayer?
6. Do you give up anything for Lent?
7. Do you believe in confession?
8. Do you have a catechism of things you believe?

B. Questions asked Catholics:

1. Do you, as a Catholic, believe that non-Catholics will go to heaven?
2. Do you worship statues? Why?
3. In confession why do you have to go through a priest? Why can't you go straight to God?
4. If a man kills another man and confesses it to the priest, will he be allowed to go out and never give it another thought?
5. Must Catholics believe everything the Pope tells them?
6. What is the difference between Catholics and Protestants?
7. Why does the Catholic Church insist that a non-Catholic who marries a Catholic, give up his religion and agree to have his children reared as Catholics?
8. Why can't nuns marry?
9. Why do Catholics have to go to parochial schools?

10. Do you believe in the separation of church and state?
11. Are the parochial schools in the South segregated?
12. Why don't Protestants have religious freedom in Catholic countries like Italy, Spain and Argentina?
13. What is the Index?
14. Why are Catholics so clannish?

C. Questions asked Negroes:

1. What do Negroes want?
2. What contributions have Negroes made throughout the history of civilization to prove that they are equal to the whites?
3. Why is there such class distinction among Negroes?
4. How can we be friends with Negroes when they won't be friends with us?
5. Is there any particular religion predominant among Negroes?
6. What is your race doing to help its own members?
7. Don't you feel that it is partly the Negroes' fault that there is discrimination against them?
8. Why do Negroes make such a fuss about discrimination when they are so prejudiced against Jews and Puerto Ricans?
9. Do Negroes discriminate against mulattoes?
10. Don't minorities have responsibilities, too?
11. Why is there more delinquency and crime among Negroes and Puerto Ricans.
12. Why is the Negro press often negative and militant in its approach?
13. Why did Negro troops do so poorly in the Second World War?
14. Wouldn't you prefer to go to an all-Negro school?
15. Don't you think the Supreme Court decision to desegregate the schools did more harm than good for race relations in our country?
16. What do you think of the NAACP? Isn't it doing more harm than good?
17. Is there any way to improve Negro schools?
18. What do you think of the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Councils? How do you feel about the South in general?
19. Do you believe that the Negroes are benefiting socially and emotionally from desegregation in the South?

20. Do you think it is a good idea for people of different races to live next door to each other?
21. Why should a Negro want to move into another part of town?
22. If the value of property is lowered when Negroes move into a given neighborhood, can you blame white people for not wanting them?
23. Why do Negroes try to push their way into white neighborhoods?
24. Why are Negroes always chauffeurs and cooks?
25. What laws are there to help Negroes get better jobs?

D. Questions asked Jews:

1. Do Jews believe in God?
2. Can a person join the Jewish religion as he can join any other church?
3. Do Jews have parochial schools like the Catholics?
4. Do the Jewish people celebrate Christmas? Why do Jews celebrate New Years at a different time of year from the rest of the people?
5. Do you believe in the New Testament? Why not?
6. Should Jews be assimilated or retain their group identity?
7. Are the Jews a race, religion, a movement or a nationality?
8. Why have the Jews always been persecuted?
9. Why do all Jews look alike?
10. Do you think someone in a minority should force his way in where he's not wanted?
11. Doesn't Judaism lead ultimately to materialism?
12. Do Jews want to live among themselves or others? Why are they so clannish?
13. What do you think of movies which try to combat anti-Semitism?
14. Why do Jews try to cheat people? Is it true that the Jewish religion teaches that it is all right to cheat a gentile?
15. Are Jews ever prejudiced against Negroes or other Jews?

E. Questions for "ethnic speakers:" (New American, Puerto Rican, American Indian or Second Generation American speakers may anticipate the following questions:

1. Do you think immigrants to this country should keep their old traditions or fit into the American pattern of culture?
2. Why do some people feel ashamed of the national background of their parents?
3. Why do you stick with your own cultural group so much? Why are you so clannish?
4. Will you make your children learn to speak Spanish? (Japanese, Chinese, Italian, Hungarian)

F. Questions for Puerto Ricans:

1. Why do Puerto Ricans come to New York to get on the relief rolls?
2. Why are so many Puerto Ricans delinquents?
3. What contributions have Puerto Ricans made to our society?
4. Why are all Puerto Rican neighborhoods so run down?
5. Why do Puerto Ricans stick by themselves and speak Spanish all the time?

G. Questions for American Indians:

1. Why do Indians drink so much liquor?
2. Do American Indians want to keep their old traditions and keep apart from other Americans?
3. Why do Indians live in such poor conditions even though many are wealthy from the sale of reservation land and oil?
4. Do Indians ever live in the city?

H. Questions for Japanese and Chinese Americans:

1. Why were the Japanese Americans put in camps during World War II instead of the Italians or Germans?
2. Why are most Americans of Oriental background on the West Coast?
3. Why do so many Japanese in the United States choose gardening as their work?
4. How did Oriental Americans feel about Japan when we were fighting World War II and Korea? How did they feel about Communist China?
5. Has there been any feeling against Chinese Americans as a result of the Communist government in China?
6. Are all Orientals Buddhists?

I. Questions for Mexican-Americans:

1. Why are the Japanese and Chinese more successful and prosperous than other immigrant groups, such as the Mexican-Americans?
2. Why do Mexicans insist on talking Spanish?
3. Why are our relations with Latin America so poor?
4. Why do Mexicans try to sneak into our country? What are "wetbacks"?
5. Why do Mexicans hold education in such low esteem?

ACTIVITY 9

Simulation

Simulated situations may involve role-playing. Here the students face real-life situations, take roles of persons involved in such situations and act them out in an attempt to solve the problem. i.e., a problem might be set up like this:

> Situation: The federal court has ordered that the United Consolidated School District of Middleville desegregate immediately.
>
> A special meeting of the Board of Education is called.
>
> On the Board are five members.
>
> Mr. John Roke: Chairman of the Board.
> Mr. Roke has lived in Middleville most of his life. He is a prominent businessman and president of the Middleville Banking and Trust Company. He is a member of the American Legion. Mr. Roke is 60 years old and has a grandson in the present all-white school, Haven Brooke. He is White-Anglo-Saxon-Protestant. He graduated from the University of Mississippi and his major was business administration. His socio-economic status is upper-class.
>
> Mr. Potts: Member of the Board.
> Mr. Potts has lived in Middleville for most of his life. He is a dentist. He does not hesitate to express the opinion that the federal government has no right to interfere with local matters. Twenty years ago he was a member of the KKK. He is 44 years old. He claims that his family once owned the largest plantation in Tennessee before the Civil War, and he traces his ancestry back to the Pilgrims. He says that his great-grandfather served with General Lee at Gettysburg and was a Colonel. His daughter attends the all-white school, Davis High.
>
> Mr. Byers: Member of the Board.
> Mr. Byers has lived in Middleville for twenty years. He is a real estate broker. Most of his business is with Negroes and poor whites. These people refer to him as a slumlord, that is, a person who has property in slum areas or poverty areas of the city. The local NAACP and CORE organizations have

criticized him for not keeping his buildings in good repair. Last week CORE official Josh Green made a statement to the press in which he stated that Byers was a "parasite" profiteering off the poor Black people in the Black ghetto. Mr. Byers claims that he charges $25 a month for a 4-room apartment. He says that "when I put in screens and plumbing and make other repairs, vandals tear them out. If I keep making repairs after repairs, then I'll have to raise the rent. But the people can't even make their present rental payments on time." He is very upset about the statement by Green. Byers lives in a suburban neighborhood where some people have sold their homes because a Negro family moved in. Byers has decided to remain. His attitude has been, "You can't run from them (Negroes) you've got to learn to live with them (Negroes)."

Byers has a son who attends all-white Mayflower Junior High. Byers is 38 years old.

Other members include Mr. Gaylord and Mr. Hood (students and the teacher can determine the backgrounds of these persons to fit the situation.)

At the board meeting is a Civil Liberties lawyer who is attending because he has children in the system and is interested in the outcome. There are also three representatives of the White Citizen Council, and three representatives of NAACP. There is one Black militant, one Negro who is the stereotype of a modern "Uncle Tom".

Procedure: The meeting is held. Each board member makes his position clear. Non-board members attempt to get the board to pass a resolution which will agree with their respective views.

Following the role playing situation, the class should discuss the various roles and analyze the problems of decision-making on a highly emotional subject. Some questions like the following might be asked:

1. Was the Board a good representation of the community?
2. How did events outside the education issue affect Mr. Byer's position?
3. Was the Board able to make a decision to accommodate extreme views?
4. Were the roles played out in a realistic fashion?
5. If the board could not resolve the issue, what changes would be necessary to solve the problem?

ACTIVITY 10

Open-Ended Stories

The use of open-ended stories can be used to involve students in problems concerning situations which arise from prejudicial attitudes and discriminations. The following may serve as examples of such stories. Also, the teacher might refer to Jean Grambs's Intergroup Education: Methods and Materials (Prentice-Hall, publisher.)

The Cheerleader Dilemma

"All right, let's calm down and get the meeting going." said Jerry Newly, President of the Hi-Y Club. You could tell this was no ordinary meeting. The other six members of Hi-Y were tense and Jerry was no exception. The Hi-Y Club was actually a committee of seven students who were chosen by the Student General Assembly to elect five girls to be cheerleaders for the year.

Normally, this would have been an enjoyable task, but this year Washington Heights High School had become desegregated. Now, 30% of the school contained Negro students and the Negro students were waiting to see just whom the committee was going to choose. In all, there were 15 girls trying out for cheerleader positions and 2 girls were Negro. The committee of 7 was made up of all whites.

Once the meeting was called to order, Terry Sharp asked the explosive question, "Now, before we make a final decision, let's get one thing straight. Do we make sure a non-white gets on the cheerleading squad or not?"

"What do you think?" Jerry asked.

"Oh,... Ah...Well, things are pretty tense in school and I..." Terry hesitated long enough to be interrupted by Joyce Brooks. "Gee Whiz!" exclaimed Joyce, "I don't see what the problem is...we choose the girls based on how well they cheer and their looks and that's it! I don't see why we have to make an exception because of a person's skin color."

"Wait a minute," demanded Harvey Burg, "Joyce, we all know that we are going to end up with the best looking girls and that... that being skilled at cheering is not a differentiating factor." "The WHAT factor?" asked Kent Smith. "In other words, skill won't make the difference." Harvey replied.

"So what difference does it make as long as everyone is judged the same?" asked Mike North.

"Well, our idea of good looking may be quite different than the idea of persons of another race or culture" answered Harvey, as he added, "Gosh, don't you guys read anything outside the textbook? Just look at a National Geographic Magazine and you'll find out soon enough."

"If what you say is true, then we can't really judge fairly, can we?" Jerry suggested.

Following further discussion the members came up with three choices on how to handle the problem. The committee would vote on which of the following paths to follow. These were:

1. Vote on the girls and not bother with the racial conflict or difference which might follow.

2. Choose four whites from the thirteen and one Negro from the two.

3. Ask the general assembly to select a committee which would have a Negro student on it.

The vote was 2 for option #1; 2 for #2; and 2 for #3. Jerry had to break the tie. He was not happy with any of the suggestions. He did not like the first two and did not think the third suggestion would solve the problem but he wasn't sure. "What should I do?" He asked himself.

Two Dances In One

Twin Mounds High School desegregated a year ago. During the first year, white and non-white students had occasional fights and

most social activities were canceled. This year, there were still tensions but whites and Negroes seemed to keep to themselves.

Finally, the school winter dance was set up and the big night came. White students congregated at the east end of the gym where the dance was held. Negro couples were congregated at the west end. Furthermore, there seemed to be an unwritten code that whites danced while Negroes sat out; and Negroes danced while Whites sat out.

After about an hour, Bob Peters and his date Sharon walked over to the west end and approached Tim Winters, one of the more popular leaders among Negro students. "Say, Tim," Bob said, "How's it going?"

"See for yourself, man!" Tim replied. "Hey, look this dance is mad, really mad." Bob stated.

"Yep! It sure is". Tim agreed. "Look, on the next dance, why don't you and your date join Sharon and me on the floor. Let's break the ice; let's try some of that human relations stuff, what do ya' say?"

"I'll buy it, man, but ah...what about a race riot; my side will keep their cool only for so long" "We'll worry about that when and if a happening occurs. Let's just play it cool!"

When the next dance came, Tim and his date Marge, and Sharon and Bob were the first two couples on the dance floor. Suddenly George Galord yelled from the edge of the dance floor, "Hey, Bob! I thought you were WHITE! Ha-Ha!"

Bob had to act quickly to respond but how--he thought. "Should I ignore it; punch George in the mouth; leave the floor, what, what now?"

(Option: Suddenly Gregory Hinden yelled... "Hey, Tim! I thought you were proud of being Black, what are you trying to do, be like whitey?" Tim had to act quickly...)

The Club

Karen Jones couldn't wait until her club meeting after school. No sooner had the final bell rung than Karen made her way to room 116

where the SPIN were scheduled to meet. SPIN is the foremost social club at school.

During the meeting Karen nominated Tina Lopez and Gail Cohn for membership. Suddenly, Barbara exclaimed, "Gosh, we can't have Mexicans..." There she paused as if she had said something wrong. Then Carol spoke up. "Barbara is right, we have a good club and Mexicans...well...they just don't mix well anyway. I don't think my folks would want me at parties with Mexican boys and that's what we'd get if Tina were let in."

"Karen, how could you even think of having Tina or Gail Cohn. Speaking about unsociables, Gail is Jewish and everyone knows how Jews are." added Susan Collier.

At this point, Diane Kash entered the conversation. "Just what are Jews like? I would certainly like to know!" she said with a tone of sarcasm. Then Barbara replied, "Oh, come on Diane, you know!" "Well, am I unsociable?" Diane retorted. "NO!" Carol began, "but you're not Jewi..." "WRONG!" Shouted Diane. "I am!" Silence spread over the room. "What would happen next?" thought Karen.

ACTIVITY 11

Use of Resource People

It might be possible to have persons representing different groups, visit the class and talk about racial problems or ethnic problems and have the students ask questions. Below are some suggestions:

1. Panel of American Women; (4 or 5 women representing different ethnic groups speak on what it means to them to be an American Catholic, Jew, Protestant, Negro, etc. Their program calls for a question and answer period.)

2. Officials of such organizations as the White Citizens Council; NAACP, CORE, Anti-Defamation League, Human Rights Commission, Civil Liberties Union; (the teacher should attempt to present a balanced program). Following such experiences the class should analyze the program in terms of the information they have learned from the unit.

3. Foreign consulates might be able to provide speakers who can speak on the social class and caste system in their nations and about ethnic problems.

Other activities can emerge from the ideas of both students and teachers. The activities suggested here are just some examples of what can be done.

ACTIVITY 12

Hate Literature

Since the invention of printing, writing has been used to sway the thoughts and action of men. Noted men of literature, such as John Milton, have served as polemicists. His Aeropagitica is perhaps the noblest defense of free speech in the English language.

John Stuart Mill's essay On Liberty is another great tract pointing out the futilities of censorship and the idea that truth will prevail when erroneous ideas are exposed to the commerce of free discourse.

But just as industrial and human wastes pollute the natural environment of man, a particular type of irrational and ideological waste pollutes man's intellectual environment. The 1920's and 1950's spawned an unusual amount of hate literature. The distinguished historian, Samuel Eliot Morrison, refers to the period of the 1920's as one in which there were "more nasty, sour, and angry groups promoting 'hundred per cent Americanism' than at any earlier period of our history, or any later one prior to the 1950's."[1] Anti-semitic, anti-Catholic, and anti-Negro fears were whetted with reports of revolutionary plots and the Red Menace.

The post World War II period has brought similar crises. There has been a continuation confrontation with Russia for over twenty-years, and a social revolution in the United States, still in progress, from the demands of Negroes for equality. As a result, there has been a tremendous increase in hate literature.

1. Do people who read hate literature try to collect evidence upon which to base decisions?

2. Are there any flaws in the argument that in a democracy true ideas drive out erroneous ideas? Can you give any examples? Do you believe that hate-literature should be censored?

3. Do you know, or can you locate, any examples of hate

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[1] Samuel Eliot Morrison, The Oxford History of the American People. New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 884.

literature? Can you apply the concepts of scapegoating to an analysis of this literature? Do you think it would be dangerous for you, individually or as a class, to read and examine examples of hate literature?

4. Do you believe that hate literature or biased and prejudiced reporting in regular news media, such as newspapers, magazines, and television, causes more damage to the formation of desirable democratic beliefs and attitudes? Justify your answer.

5. Here are two magazines which are designed to appeal primarily to Negro readers: Ebony and The Liberator. Is there any difference in the tone of the social commentary? Some whites have characterized The Liberator as being a black racist publication? Is there evidence to support or refute this charge, or is the evidence mixed?

6. The Citizen is a monthly publication of The White Citizens Council. Would you call this a white racist publication? What is your evidence?

7. Muhammad Speaks is the weekly organ of the Black Muslims. Is the tone of the journal racist? What is your evidence?

8. The Black Panther weekly is the offical organ of the Black Panther Party. The Black Panthers have been described as a Marxist-Leninist Negro group. What are the implications of such a description for their attitude toward American institutions? Are the Black Panthers black racists? What is your evidence?

9. The Augusta Courier (Georgia) is a weekly published by The Courier Publishing Company, owned by Roy V. Harris, a member of the Board of Regents of the University System of Georgia. Is this a white racist publication. What is your evidence?

10. Many types of hate literature have limited circulation and are difficult to obtain. Thunderbolt is published by the National States Rights Party. It has recently moved from Savannah to Atlanta, Georgia. Fiery Cross is published by the Ku Klux Klan. If you are able to obtain copies of these publications, analyze them for their approach to race.

11. The hate literature referred to in preceding paragraphs may not be readily available. Do you know of any other hate literature? Can you obtain copies? What kind of message does this literature communicate? In what ways is it harmful? In what ways are half-truths used to give an air of authenticity and objectivity to hate literature? In your judgment, which is the most dangerous--the overtly blatant hate piece or the subtle innuendo? Do they appeal to different audiences?

ACTIVITY 13

Anthropological Comparison of Physical Characteristics

1. Use the taxonomy of physical characteristics given in your text (see pages 15, and 16), to describe the physical characteristics of the members of your class. You might wish to select just one salient characteristic, such as skin color. Do you find uniformity or variation in such colors as black and white, i.e., are all blacks the same and all whites the same? What problems of classification does this raise? How many sub-classifications did you make among blacks? Among whites? Do you find that you and your classmates agree or disagree in the way they classify people? Does this suggest difficulties of physical classification?

ACTIVITY 14

Historical Scholarship

Historical scholarship not only involves a problem of accurate factual reporting, but it also involves interpretation. Because interpretations differ from one generation to another, the past is never static, but is, in a sense, recreated as historians reexamine the record of man's accomplishments and failures, in the light of new premises and assumptions.

Students who study history in school and college rarely continue to study history after graduation. Hence they carry to old age the image of the past, acquired in childhood and in youth.

In the history of the United States, impressions of the Reconstruction period, gained from the study of history, have frequently intensified sectional feeling and racial attitudes.

Here are two books. The one by Bowers represents traditional views of the Reconstruction period. The one by Stampp reflects more recent interpretations. How do the interpretations differ? Why would you and your grandparents have different views of the Reconstruction period of American history?

1. Bowers, Claude G. The Tragic Era: The Revolution After Lincoln. 1929

2. Stampp, Kenneth. The Era of Reconstruction: 1865-1877. Knopf, Vintage Books, 1965.

Look up the word "Black Code." What does it mean? Read excerpts from Black Codes. These are given in standard collections of documents of American History, such as Henry Steele Commager, Documents of American History (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1958)

Read the following interpretation of the Black Codes:

John D. Hicks, The American Nation (3rd ed, Houghton Mifflin, 1955), I, 22.

Do you agree or disagree with the interpretation of the Black Codes given by Hicks? Defend your answer.

ACTIVITY 15

Legal Developments

The legal history of the United States mirrors much of the controversy and moral contradiction which has surrounded the status of the Negro in the United States. Political science, civics, or American government texts, as well as history texts have typically failed to examine either the legal or social consequences of discriminatory treatment and its implications for the democratic tradition.

The following are some landmark documents which may be found in document collections in a good library:

Civil Rights Act, 1866

Fourteenth Amendment, 1866

Civil Rights Cases, 109 U.S. 3, 1883

Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537, 1896

Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483, 1954

Civil Rights Act, 1966

To what extent does the legal history of the United States support or refute the following thesis: "In the 1960's the United States once more resumed the unfinished work of emancipation begun in the 1860's."

ACTIVITY 16

Housing

One of the persistent problems of segregation in the United States is housing. Desegregated schools in southern cities frequently become all black in a few years because of segregated housing patterns. Also, de facto segregation of housing throughout the United States makes it almost impossible in many communities to have both a neighborhood school and an integrated school.

1. Make a residential map of ethnic housing patterns in your community, using census tract and other population data.

2. What are the implications of these housing patterns for education, sanitary, health, paving, and other social services?

3. Make a field trip to low income, middle income, and high income residential areas. What differences can you observe in the neighborhoods? What are the implications for child rearing? For the development of social attitudes?

4. Do you think that more or less public resources should be devoted to housing for the poor? Explain your answer.

ACTIVITY 17

Movies

The twentieth century movie brought a new art form to the United States and to the world. It also brought a new medium for social commentary.

Make a list of pictures which you have seen which have to do with ethnic relations. Some of the recent ones have been:

To Kill A Mockingbird	Easy Rider
In the Heat of the Night	To Sir With Love
Guess Who's Coming to Dinner	Island in the Sun
Raisin In the Sun	A Patch of Blue

Can you add to this list? What was the particular message of the film? If you saw such a film, did it have any particular thing to say to you as an individual?

Two films which can be obtained through Educational Film Centers or other organizations such as the Anti-Defamation League, are In The Eye of the Beholder, and Walk in My Shoes.

ACTIVITY 18

Preference vs. Discrimination

List on a sheet of paper the names of the five individuals in your class you consider the most outstanding, whether it is in terms of scholarship, athletics, leadership, personality, or some other criteria. Do this before you read any further.

Now read the names on your list. Did physical characteristics have anything to do with the criteria of excellence on which you made your selections? Did you unwittingly exclude some individual on the basis of your criteria because of his race, social class, or religion? If you found that you were not objective in your selection, but let unexpressed prejudices influence your choice, how would you change your list?

ACTIVITY 19

Social Classes

Draw up a list of 4 different occupations. Pool the lists of all students. Then assign occupations to social classes (refer to charts on text pages 58 and 67). Do this now before reading any further.

Once the above is completed, discuss the following questions.

1. Do the occupations in each class have approximately the same income?

2. Do the occupations in each class have the same prestige?

3. Do the occupations in each class have the same level of educational requirements?

4. Is occupation a sufficient means of assigning individuals to a social class?

5. What other criteria might be used?

ACTIVITY 20

Jobs

1. What are the prevailing job rates for certain occupations in your area? Compare these with the rest of the country. Are your job rates higher or lower than the United States average? Is there any relationship between the economic wealth of an area and job discrimination based on race? Can you give some examples?

2. In many sections of the United States where there are minority groups--Negroes, Indians, and Mexican-Americans--the rate paid to the members of the minority group is less than paid to a white worker in that region. What evidence can you find to support this statement?

3. Study the Table on page 70: "Income and Years of School Completed." In what way does this table indicate that the problem of lower Negro income in the United States is not merely a matter of education, but is also a matter of racial discrimination.

4. What is the "Philadelphia Plan?" What are the advantages and disadvantages of this plan for giving minority workers more skilled jobs?

5. How have trade unions in the United States limited minority access to skilled jobs? Does local practice conform to national union policy? Is job discrimination regional or national?

6. What do you think holds more promise for Negro economic improvement: More independent Black businesses or more equitable access to managerial, supervisory, and skilled jobs in the "white" economy?

7. Look at the classified advertisements in the Sunday edition of your newspaper. What kinds of businesses are advertised for sale? What kinds of "help wanted" job advertisements predominate? Is independent ownership promising for minorities which have had little financial and managerial experience? If minority groups had equal access to jobs on the current labor market, could they rapidly improve their class position?

ACTIVITY 21

Working with Peers of Another Ethnic Group

Have you ever worked side by side with somebody of a different race, religion, or social class? Working to achieve a common task is one way to get a different perspective on what a person is like and what they can do.

If your class is an all-white or all-Negro class, try to pair with a class in some other school to work at something you think is worthwhile for yourselves or the community. If your class is already integrated, have you really tried to work together, or just simply come together in school and for the rest of the time go your separate ways? The catch in working together is to find a job you think is worthwhile, not something that is do-goody and artificial.

If your class is successful in organizing such a work activity, try to arrange to talk about it afterwards. What did it accomplish for the group? For you? Did working together help change or to fix any group stereotypes? If so, why? If you were to set up another work project, what would you do differently the next time?

ACTIVITY 22

Coming into Contact with Poverty

1. Poverty is not something unreal. It is very real. Poverty is poor people. People who live in shabby housing. People who live with poor sanitation, poor living. Poverty is people who are hungry. Poverty is people without jobs. Poverty is ignorance. Poverty is often people without hope. A dead end.

Because poverty is like a disease, we try to shove it out of our mind. We try to avoid it. Often time we try to make jokes about it, putting all the blame on the poor and none on society.

Go look at the face of poverty. Spend a day working at the Salvation Army. Make the rounds with a welfare worker. Help at a church office where assistance is given the poor. Go to the employment office and see what kind of jobs are available and what skills the poor have to offer. Tour a slum area. Work as a volunteer with the Office of Economic Opportunity.

What do you think the country might cooperatively do differently from what it is now doing? What is it not doing that you think it should do? Can poverty be eradicated? What have countries such as Denmark, Sweden, done to eliminate proverty?

What could be done to get poor people to help themselves?

2. It is a part of the American tradition that we often depict the poor as being trifling and shiftless. Even in the midst of the Great Depression of the Thirties, when government work programs provided work for millions of workers, it was popular to deride the WPA worker.

Read a book such as Pass the Poverty Please, by Patty Newman and Joyce Wenger, published in 1969 by Constructive Action, Inc., of La Jolla, California. This book was an attack of the War on Poverty of the Johnson Administration. In what way does the book use innuendo, half-truths, and stereotypic thinking to discredit programs of assistance to the poor? What kind of organization is Constructive Action, Inc.?

3. Before his assassination on April 4, 1968, Martin Luther King, Jr., had planned a Poor People's Campaign in Washington, D. C.

It had the object of persuading the Congress to enact legislation to reduce poverty in the United States. The campaign was formally opened in Washington on May 12, 1968 by Mrs. Coretta King, and conducted under the leadership of the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, successor head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The campaign failed. Why did it fail to achieve its objectives? Did the campaign generate sympathy for the condition of the poor? Why or why not?

ACTIVITY 23

Extremist Organizations

The two major political parties in the United States are the Democratic Party and the Republican Party. While each of these parties attempt to persuade voters that its existence in office is indispensable to the prosperity and safety of the country, differences in the two parties is one of degree and not of opposing ideology. Each party attempts to appeal to a wide electorate with a great range of views, and both Republicans and Democrats have their liberal as well as conservative spokesmen.

While extremism is not new to the United States, in recent years there has been an increase of organized effort to sustain and present radical views, both of the right and the left.

On the radical right there are such organizations as the John Birch Society, Minute Men, and American Nazi Party. Radical right organizations tend to be racist, anti-Jewish, and subscribe to an idea that the country is about to be taken over by an international Communist conspiracy.

A critical analysis of organizations and activities of the radical right is given in the following book:

> Benjamin R. Epstein and Arnold Forster, The Radical Right (New York: Random House, 1966, available in paperback as a Vintage Book.)

On the radical left there are such organizations as the Black Panther Party, Students for a Democratic Society, and the American Communist Party. Radical left organizations are critical of the "establishment" and use a language critical of American institutions borrowed from the Communist semantics of Lenin and Mao.

There is no good reference on the radical left; most works on the radical left are written as apologies.

1. Make comparison of the tactics of an organization of the radical right and of the radical left. What are their ideologies? What are their tactics? In what way are they similar? In what way are they different? To what extent do they appeal to fear, prejudice, or ethnocentrism?

2. Are organizations of both the radical right and radical left dangerous to democratic institutions? Why? What would happen in this country if a party such as the American Nazi Party became a majority political party? Students for a Democratic Society?

3. Some observers have criticized the major parties in the United States as being a question of twiddle-dum and twiddle-dee. Is this more a source of national strength or weakness? What happened in the United States in 1860 when the two major parties took widely different stands on the slave issue?

4. Third party movements in the United States have not been generally successful. In 1896 the Populist Party and in 1968 the American Independent Party were third parties in national campaigns for the presidency? To what different groups did they appeal? What role did the Negro play in the two parties?

ACTIVITY 24

Mock United Nations Session on Human Rights

Your text indicates that racial problems and problems of minority groups are not unique to the United States, but are world-wide.

Select a minority group in the text, or some other minority group of your own choice. Do further research to gain additional information and bring data up to date.

Set up a mock U. N. meeting on human rights through role playing. Students will report on the problems and status of minority groups in their respective "nations."

The "U. N." must set up a plan of action to assist minorities in all nations. (Some students might represent "majority groups" and offer debates, but this must be well planned and intelligently oriented).

A report of the results of the meeting can be drawn up and posted.

ACTIVITY 25

Stereotyping

A stereotype is a mental picture of a member of an ethnic group.

1. What kind of stereotype do you have concerning members of other ethnic groups? One way of finding out is to complete the following:

Mr. Brooke is a Negro-American. The picture (stereotype) I have of Brooke is: _____

_____

_____

John is a Catholic. He is: _____

_____

_____

Mr. Douglas is Jewish. He is: _____

_____

_____

Mr. Chavez is Mexican-American. He is: _____

_____

_____

Mr. John L------ is White Anglo-Saxon Protestant. He is: _____

_____

_____

Fill out your stereotypes listed above on a separate sheet of paper, before reading further.

Once you have completed the above, compare your stereotypes with what you can find out about the individuals who are listed below. If you do not know about the individual collect the necessary data.

TO WHAT EXTENT DOES THE INDIVIDUAL CONFORM TO YOUR STEREOTYPES OF INDIVIDUALS BECAUSE THEY ARE A MEMBER OF A PARTICULAR ETHNIC, RACIAL OR RELIGIOUS GROUP?

Negro--Edward Brooke, Senator of the United States from Massachusetts.

Catholic--John F. Kennedy, former President of the United States.

Jew--Kirk Douglas, star of stage and screen.

Mexican-American--Cesar Estrada Chavez, leading spokesman and activist of Mexican-Americans. (See Time magazine, July 14, 1969, p. 16.)

WASP (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant)-John Lindsay, Mayor of New York.

2. The following is a description of Osage Indians found in the textbook: Missouri: Midland State, by Collins, Snider; Ramfre Press, 1967.

> They were said to be greasy and disgusting objects with dirty buffalo robes thrown over their shoulders. The women, if possible were more filthy and disgusting than the men.

What kind of stereotype does this description create?

If a similar description were made about Cherokee Indians (such similar descriptions do exist), and you were told that W. W. Keeler was a Cherokee Chief, what kind of stereotype would you have of Mr. Keeler?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

THE REAL MR. KEELER:

Mr. W. W. Keeler is not only the Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation, but he is chief executive and chairman of the board of directors of Phillips Petroleum Company.

Keeler is a member of the board of trustees of the University of Tulsa; director of the Dwight (Oklahoma) Presbyterian Mission; a director of the First National Bank in Bartlesville; and a member of the Oklahoma state-wide committee of the Living Legend Library.

Keeler's civic activities have included service as a member of the White House Youth Conference; member of the board of directors of Tulsa's

Gilcrease Museum; advisor to the Southwest Regional Office of the Institute of International Education, president and director of the Bartlesville Kiwanis Club; director of the Bartlesville Chamber of Commerce; member-at-large of the Boy Scouts of America's National Council and member of its committee in Inter-Racial service; vice president and director of scouting's Cherokee Area Council; director and chairman of the Boys' Club of the Bartlesville Y. M. C. A.; and chairman of the Crippled Children's Fund Commitee.

In June 1962, Keeler was appointed by Secretary of the Interior Udall as chairman of a three-man task force to study operations of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Alaska, and to meet with native groups and discuss native land rights, problems of native fisheries, educational needs of natives, and other related topics. He was chairman of the United States delegation to the Inter-American Indian Conference at Quito, Ecuador, in October 1964.

A registered professional engineer in Oklahoma, Keeler is a member of Sigma Tau, honorary engineering fraternity, a Shriner, and has been awarded the Legion of Honor, Order of DeMolay, and Silver Beaver Award, Boy Scouts of America. In the spring of 1961, he received the honorary LL. D. degree from the College of the Ozarks; honorary D. Eng. degree from the Colorado School of Mines; and the Distinguished Alumni Service Citation, highest honor given by the University of Kansas. In 1966 he was elected to the Oklahoma Hall of Fame.

His family consists of his wife, the former Ruby Hamilton, and three sons--William, Bradford, and Richard.

(Note: The above information was provided by the Phillips Petroleum Company.)

3. William F. Buckley, Jr. editor of The National Review, wrote "Why we Need a Black President in 1980" in Look, January 13, 1970. If you read this article, ascertain the fundamental thesis. Do you agree or disagree? Why?

ACTIVITY 26

Comparison of Individual and Class Attitudinal Responses With a National Poll

For white students: Check your attitudes by responding to the following items based on a Louis Harris Poll for Life magazine.

	I would be Concerned If:	I would NOT be Concerned if:
A black person sat next to me at a lunch counter:		
My brother (sister) brought a Negro schoolmate home to supper:		
A black family moved next door to me:		
Negro children were bussed in to my neighborhood school:		
More Negroes moved into my neighborhood:		
I was bussed from my neighborhood school to one in a black neighborhood:		
A close friend or relative married a Negro:		
My community increased welfare payments to Negroes:		
A law was passed giving Negroes a better chance than whites in certain jobs:		
My teen-age sister dated a Negro:		

Now turn to Life, January 9, 1970, page 104. Compare your responses with the responses of a cross-section of 4,047 Americans. Are you less concerned or more concerned than the cross-sectional responses? Has age anything to do with this difference? See Life, January 9, 1970, page 105 for the relationship of age to change attitudes.

You might wish to have these responses tallied by class totals, so the class may see how they stand on these issues.

ACTIVITY 27

Reverse Discrimination

In this country, because of the prevalence of white discrimination against Negroes, we tend to think of whites as the source of discrimination, and blacks the objects of discrimination. A minority in any area, irrespective of color, may be the subject of discrimination.

Attempt to test the following hypothesis: A minority of any group may be the object of discrimination; no moral superiority exists in persons because of a particular race.

1. How are the mixed offspring of American fathers and Japanese mothers treated in Japan?

2. How do white citizens who visit or live in the Virgin Islands perceive their treatment by blacks who live in the Virgin Islands?

3. Can you find other instances of discrimination to test the hypothesis?

4. How has the Negro government of Kenya treated Asians recently?

RECALL QUESTIONS

Note: The following questions are presented to help the student obtain an indication of how well he can recall what he has read. THESE ITEMS ARE NOT A SUFFICIENT SUBSTITUTE FOR STUDYING THE TEXT.

How to use the Recall Questions: The suggested use of these questions consists of 8 simple steps:

1. Place a card or paper over the answers which are located to the right of the question.
2. Read the question.
3. Write out your answer in your notebook or on another sheet of paper.
4. Slide the paper down and check your answer with the given answer.
5. If you are correct, go to the next question.
6. If your answer was incorrect, refer to the page number below the answer.
7. Find the correct answer and write the correct response.
8. SOMETIMES YOU WILL HAVE TO REFER TO A PAGE IN THE TEXT FOR THE INITIAL ANSWER.
   i.e.: Question--- | Answer: See p. 29

Questions	Answers
1. Race is both a _____ and _____ concept.	scientific/social p. 1
2. From time immemorial, men have been aware of cultural and _____ differences which set them apart from other men.	physical p. 1
3. In the Western World, the period of exploration and conquest beginning in the 1500's and the rise of the scientific movement increased consciousness of _____ and _____ differences among men.	cultural/physical p. 2
4. What is the scientific name of man?	homo sapiens p. 6
5. This is a binominal system of classification where Homo is the name of the genus and _____ is the species.	sapiens pp. 6, 153, and 154
6. There is/are _____ species of mankind.	one pp. 6, 153, and 154
7. All men belong to the same species but there are different types or varieties of men. This is because the species is _____	polytypic p. 6

Questions	Answers
8. There are two modern ways of classifying races. These are _____ and _____ classifications.	typological/geographical p. 6, and 11
9. Which method of classification examines racial difference based upon populations in a given area?	geographical classifications pp. 11-14
10. Geographical classification _____ (does/does not) abandon descriptions of human variability.	does not p. 11
11. Nomenclature for typological and geographical classifications _____ (often/seldom/never) overlap.	often p. 7
12. The geographical approach to trait differences makes the genetic assumption that people in a given area have certain physical characteristics as a result of _____, _____, and _____ of the population.	gene frequency, gene flow breeding habits p. 11
13. The three levels of examining geographical races are _____, _____, and _____.	a. continental b. local c. micro-race p. 12

Questions	Answers
14. What are the six basic premises of geographical classifications of race?	See p. 14
15. New races most commonly emerge as a result of _____.	hybridization p. 17-18
16. Why is it difficult to define groups as genetically pure races?	Pure races of genetically homogeneous populations do not exist in the human species. p. 19
17. Man's progress in any field seems to have been increasingly, if not completely, based on _____ (biological genetic endowment/ cultural achievement).	cultural achievement p. 21
18. Three barriers preventing man from interbreeding are _____, _____ and _____.	geographical, social, cultural p. 21
19. What is the race of a person whose nationality is Canadian, religion is Catholic, and speaks French?	There is no way to determine a person's race with certainty from this information. p. 22
20. The popular concept of race or social concept of race is scientifically _____ (correct/incorrect).	incorrect p. 24-25

Questions	Answers
21. The father of Social Darwinism was _____. (Charles Darwin/ Linnaeus/ Herbert Spencer/ Comte de Buffon).	Herbert Spencer p. 28
22. Herbert Spencer, the father of Social Darwinism, attempted to apply a biological concept to _____.	culture p. 28
23. The main motive for slavery was _____ (to civilize the natives/economic).	economic p. 27
24. The social concept of race tends to _____ (increase/ decrease) racial prejudice.	increase p. 32
The following are a series of quotations. Each refers to or mentions race. For each quotation determine whether the reference fits a scientific or non-scientific definition of race. For each decision you make, formulate a reason.	
25. "If we were to select the most intelligent, imaginative, energetic, and emotionally stable third of mankind, all races would be represented." ---Franz Boas	Scientific

Questions	Answers
26. "Religions are not merely doctrines, they are races". ---A. Berl	non-scientific
27. "There is a portion of truth in the idea of the dominant characteristic of the human races, of certain effects of crossbreeding, and of the danger resulting from excessive mixture."---E. Schure	non-scientific
28. "Dear Duchess, and how is the Duke? Brain still weak, I suppose? Well, that is only to be expected, is it not? His good father was just the same. There is nothing like race, is there?" ---Oscar Wilde	non-scientific
29. "Races are open parts of the species, and the species is a closed system."---S. L. Washburn	scientific
30. "...as long as I am in the Senate I expect to fight for white supremacy...if the amalgamation of whites and Negroes in this country is permitted...there will be a mongrel race, and there will come to pass the identical condition under which Egypt, India, and other civilizations decayed..." ---Allen J. Ellender	non-scientific
31. "A person of mixed white and Negro blood should be returned as a Negro, no matter how small the percentage of Negro blood."--- instructions given to Census enumerators in 1940.	non-scientific

Chapter 2. Social Class and Caste

Questions	Answers
1. In most societies there exist social divisions. Some divisions group people into classes of relative positions. The basis for their grouping might be _____, _____, _____, _____, among others.	racial, ethnic, religious, political, economic, geographic, national, kinship . . . p. 41
2. A person's social position is referred to as his social _____.	status p. 41
3. An individual may have _____ (only one/more than one) status.	more than one p. 41
4. One's general social status in Gopalpur is based on two statuses. _____ and _____.	ceremonial/ economic p. 45-46
5. The Chinook Indians practiced _____ in which they gave away or destroyed property in order to gain higher status.	potlatch p. 46
6. How do the Iboes achieve social status?	by accumulating wealth p. 46
7. What determines social status American mass society?	p. 47

Questions	Answers
8. When social differences create barriers between groups of people in a given society, that society may be referred to as a _____ or _____ society.	class/caste p. 43
9. What do we call a group of people who live in the same society and who have about the same social status in their society?	a social class p. 42
10. The United States of America is an example of a _____ (open/closed) class society.	open p. 43
11. What term describes movement from one social class to another social class?	social mobility p. 42
12. The key factor in determining whether or not a society is an open class society is social _____.	mobility p. 42-43
13. When a society does not allow for social mobility but consists of well defined, rigid classes, the society is called a _____ (open/closed) class society.	closed p. 42
14. A closed class society is often referred to as a _____ _____.	caste society

Questions	Answers
15. India is an example of a _____ society.	caste p. 43
16. When a class is somewhat strictly hereditary, we may call it a _____.	caste p. 42
17A. Do all societies have social classes or castes?	no p. 47
17B. What are such societies called?	classless societies p. 47
18. The Arunta and Yahgan are examples of folk cultures with _____ societies.	classless p. 48-49
19. Material wealth among the Arunta is _____ (evenly/unevenly) distributed.	evenly p. 48
20. Among Yahgans occupational differences _____ (do/do not) allow for class distinctions.	do not p. 48-49
21A. Is the following syllogism correct? Syllogism: the Arunta and Yahgan are folk cultures. The Arunta and Yahgan are classless societies. The Rwalla Bedouin is a folk culture. Therefore, the Rwalla Bedouin is a classless society.	no p. 49-52

Questions	Answers
21B. We know that the syllogism is incorrect. Furthermore, we can conclude that although the Arunta and Yahgan are folk cultures and have classless societies, not all _____ have _____ societies.	folk cultures/classless p. 49
22A. Among Rwalla tribes, weaker tribes paid taxes to the more powerful tribes and in return for this tribute the stronger tribe was obligated to protect the weaker tribe. This form of relationship between two groups is known as a _____ _____.	client relationship p. 50
22B. What is another example of a client relationship drawn from Rwalla society?	see "kusara" p. 50
23A. The Sulubba were the _____ (strongest/weakest) of Rwalla tribes?	weakest p. 51
23B. Therefore, the Sulubba paid tribute to _____ other tribes of the Rwalla.	all p. 51
24A. In Rwanda society, one finds a _____ social system.	caste p. 52-53
24B. The Tutsi are the highest caste; they were originally warriors. Apparently they established a client relationship between themselves and the _____ and _____.	Hutu/Twa p. 52-53

Questions	Answers
25. Which of the following cultures have a social system most similar to the social class system still found in some European nations? a. Somali b. Rwanda c. Rwalla d. Tahitian e. Indian	d. Tahitian p. 53
26. In some cases classes emerge. At other times castes develop. In one culture it is possible to have both _____ and _____.	classes/castes p. 53
27. What is a major underlying assumption of the caste system?	see p. 54-55
28. The caste system of India is based primarily upon _____. a. political theory b. economic theory c. geography d. religious belief e. Cooly's definition of a caste	d. religious belief p. 54
29. The major factor or idea in Hindu beliefs which separate touchable from untouchable is _____.	pollution p. 54
30. Japanese society has moved from a primarily _____ society to a _____ society, although the Eta still constitute a _____.	caste/class/caste p. 56-57
31. The largest and lowest outcaste group in Japan is the _____.	Eta p. 56
32. List at least four factors which determine social class in the United States.	Income/race/place of residence/occupation/ educational level/life style/ethnic background p. 58

Questions	Answers
33. Generally speaking there are _____ major classes in the United States. These classes are the _____ class, the _____ class and the _____ class.	three/upper/middle/lower p. 58
34. Most Americans think of themselves as belonging to the _____ class.	middle p. 63
35. American social classes are not marked off from each other in any distinct manner. American social classes are _____.	imperfect p. 59
36. Define relative deprivation and give an example of it.	see page 64
37. Occupation in American society plays a _____ (major/minor) role in determining class status.	major p. 64
38. People tend to rank occupations in terms of _____.	prestige p. 65
39. _____ is a major factor in determining whether a person will be able to attain a high income occupation.	education p. 65
40. Why does the chart on p. 66 specify White Jobholders?	see pages 66-68
41. About one in every _____ (8,000/800/80/8 persons in the United States lives in poverty.	8 p. 71
42. In 1936, Woodbury found that infant mortality rates were higher among the lower class than middle class by _____ times.	three p. 72

Questions	Answers
43. The particular ethnic or racial characteristic of a group does not change the fact that poor living conditions breed poor health. (True/seldom true/false)	true p. 72
44. In general, poverty breeds crime. The victims of criminal activity are most often those people in the _____ class. (upper/middle/lower)	lower p. 80
45. Regardless of social class, all persons in the U.S.A. are guaranteed equal justice before the law. (true/false). In practice however, it is more difficult for members of the lower class to obtain equal justice. (true/false).	true/true p. 80-81
46. According to some social scientists, the Negro population in the United States constitutes a social _____.	caste p. 87
47. The caste status of the Negro in American society has its roots in _____ and _____.	slavery and segregation p. 89
48. What famous Supreme Court decision reinforced Jim Crow laws and segregation?	Plessey v. Ferguson (1896) p. 89
49. What factors prevent the United States from being a purely open class society?	prejudice and discrimination or race, religious and ethnic prejudices p. 90

Chapter 3. Prejudice and Ethnocentrism

Questions	Answers
1. _____ is a negative attitude toward groups and their individual members based upon fixed over-generalizations and false generalizations.	prejudice p. 91
2. When someone asks you to describe the typical individual of a particular group and you form a mental picture, this mental picture is called a _____.	stereotype p. 92
3. Prejudice is _____ (learned/inborn/both inborn and learned).	learned p. 93
4. List five in-groups to which an American might belong during his lifetime.	see page 95
5. An extreme form of patriotism is called _____.	chauvinism or jingoism p. 96
6. Ethnocentrism is _____ (inborn/learned/both inborn and learned).	learned p. 97
7. When predilection leads to a fixed negative attitude toward a particular group and individuals because they are members of that group, the predilection becomes a _____.	prejudice p. 101

Questions	Answers
8. The paradox between American ideals of equality and justice for all and the practices of discrimination and prejudice led Gunnar Myrdal to describe this situation as the _____ _____.	American dilemma p. 101
9. If a person tolerates a situation or group of people, this means he accepts them completely and is not prejudiced. (true/usually true/ false/usually false).	False p. 101
10. Prejudice is an attitude. When this attitude leads to overt action, that is, selecting a particular group or a member of that group for differential and unequal treatment, the prejudiced attitude has led to an act of _____.	discrimination p. 102
11. The lack of discrimination _____ (does/does not) exclude an attitude of prejudice.	does not p. 102
12. _____ is the act of focusing hostility upon an individual or group when they are either partly or completely innocent of causing this hostility.	Scapegoating p. 103
13A. According to Gordon Allport there are _____ reasons or motives for scapegoating.	seven p. 104

Questions	Answers
13B. These motives are: (1) _____, (2) _____, (3) _____, (4) _____, (5) _____, (6) _____, (7) _____.	frustration and deprivation, fear, conformity, tabloid thinking, guilt evasion, anxiety, self-enhancement p. 104
14. People who blame their problems and deprivations on other groups and act out against members of these groups are motivated by _____ and _____.	frustration/deprivation p. 104
15. Sometimes people use scapegoating to make themselves feel superior. In such a case the motive for scapegoating is _____.	self-enhancement p. 104
16. What are the four types of scapegoaters?	see pp. 105 and 106
17. The tactic of scapegoaters may range from telling negative jokes about groups and stating false accusations to the most hostile form which involves _____ and _____.	threats and physical violence p. 107
18. In the United States, racism exists among both whites and Negroes. (true / false. If false, correct the statement.	True p. 111
19. England has little or no racial problems since only 2.5% of the population is non-white. (true / false. If false, show why.)	False pp. 112 and 113

Questions	Answers
20. The major minority group in Indonesia and Malaysia is the _____.	Chinese pp. 115 and 117
21. The Chinese are set off apart from Indonesians by _____ and _____ differences.	racial/cultural p. 115
22. The Malaysian seaport city of Singapore is 75% Chinese in population. Here the Chinese constitute a _____ (majority/minority) in terms of ethnic relations.	minority p. 117
23. Racial discrimination in New African states has been directed against _____ and _____.	Europeans/Asiatics p. 118-119
24. In India, religious prejudice and discrimination exists between _____ and _____.	Hindus/Muslims p. 119-120
25. In Northern Ireland, religious conflict stems from prejudice and discrimination between _____ and _____.	Catholics/Protestants p. 120
26. In India, the minority religious group is _____ and in Northern Ireland the minority group is the _____.	Muslim/Catholic p. 119-120
27. Anti-Jewish attitudes and behavior are referred to as _____.	anti-Semitism p. 120

Questions	Answers
28. The Jews have probably the longest history of discrimination and scapegoating. At present, the climax of hostility against Jews resulted in _____. During World War II, _____ European Jews were murdered.	Nazi Germany/6,000,000 p. 121
29. The United States government does not support religious prejudice; nevertheless, in 1838, the governor of Missouri issued an order to drive out and kill all _____ found in the state.	Mormons p. 123
30. Religious prejudice and discrimination forced the _____ to continue westward until they were able to establish themselves in present-day Utah.	Mormons p. 123
31. In predominately Muslim nations of Egypt and Iraq, prejudice and scapegoating is focused on _____ and _____.	Christians/Jews p. 126
32. In Nigeria, a combination of tribalism and nationalism has led to the starvation and slaughter of thousands of _____.	Ibo p. 127-128
33. Enculturation refers to the learning of one's own _____.	culture p. 130-131

Questions	Answers
34. Education can _____ (increase/decrease/both increase and decrease) prejudice.	both increase and decrease p. 131
35. Cultural _____ can help bring about breaking the cycles of prejudice.	change p. 131-132

DISCUSSION AND ANALYTIC QUESTIONS

NOTE: The following questions require application of skills, such as making comparisons, interpretation of data, and solving problems which may require going beyond the text (i.e., use of library sources, other texts, newspapers, etc.)

Chapter 1. Race

1. Why is an understanding of the concept of Race of paramount importance in the United States? (p. 1)

2. What do the names Cheyenne and Yahgon, and the term barbarian, have in common? (p. 1) What does this exemplify? (p. 2)

3. How does Linnaeus' classification of race compare with modern typological and geographical classifications? (p. 2-3)

4. Does Linnaeus' classification and descriptions of races reflect the use of race as a social or scientific concept?

5. How does Comte de Buffon's explanation of racial variation and Immanuel Kant's view of mankind (p. 4) compare with question 14 (p. 152) in Appendix D?

6. What are the chief differences between Blumenbach's taxonomy (p. 5), and Linnaeus' classifications (p. 2-3)

7. Why have anthropologists abandoned a strictly typological approach in classifying racial groups? (p. 10-11)

8. What are the similarities and differences between typological and geographical classifications? (pp. 6-17)

9. How might a mountain range be important in determining geographical races? (p. 11-14)

10. Why would the United States be a good example of an area largely composed of hybrid races? (pp. 17-18)

11. How would you summarize the major points in the UNESCO statement entitled Biological Aspects of Race? Rank the 13 points in order of importance. State your reasons for this hierarchy. (pp. 19-23)

12. If you were seeking information on how a certain people behave, would you obtain assistance from a physical anthropologist or a cultural anthropologist? Why?

13. How do culture and race differ?

14. How do differences in cultural development, conquest, and slavery relate to the social concept of race? (p. 26-29)

15A. "Between about 1880 and 1920, American society felt the impact of Social Darwinism." What occurrences in American society during this period support the above statement? (Refer to library resources--American history textbook and others).

15B. Is the statement accurate? Why?

15C. Would you modify it? If so, how?

16A. What kind of anthropological practices reinforce race as a social concept?

16B. What was the "Piltdown Man?"

16C. How does the Piltdown Man hoax relate to question 16A? (Refer to library sources).

17. Review the 19 points of the UNESCO statement on race and prejudice (Appendix A). With which statements do you agree or disagree? Why?

(Refer to library resources, newspaper articles, magazines, etc. to support and illustrate your positions.)

Chapter 2. Social Class and Caste

1. Solve the following problem:

Situation: During a conversation with a friend, he states: "People with low prestige and belonging to the lower class in the United States would have a low status in any society." Another friend enters the conversation and says that he disagrees. Both turn to you to reconcile the situation.

State your position and illustrate it with examples from the text or other sources.

2. How did the life of the Rwalla slave compare with the life of the American slave before 1865? (Refer to U.S. history texts and other sources for information on the Negro American slave.)

3. Why are American social classes considered imperfect?

4. Solve the following problem:

Situation: Last month Congressman Snow delivered a speech at your school. The major point he made was that it is necessary to extend aid to the poor. Today, at this month's school assembly, Congresswoman Rain spoke to the student body and made the point that since all people have equal rights in the United States, anyone can improve his lot if he will only work hard. She opposed aid to the poor. After her speech she asked if anyone had any questions or wished to challenge her statements. Your friend, Charlie, gains the Congresswoman's attention and says that he agreed with her but that you did not. Everyone's attention turns to you. Not wanting to let Charlie get the best of the situation, you stand up and challenge the Congresswoman's position.

Problem: Prepare a short, 3 to 5 minute statement defending your position.

5. Compare the social systems of the Somali, Rwanda, Tahitians and Rwalla. Discuss their similarities and differences.

6. What are status symbols? Discuss their purpose and importance.

7. What factors determine a person's overall social status in America? How are these factors interrelated?

8. What is the relationship between education and income, and education and occupation?

9. From studying the chart on page 69, answer the following questions:

a. What happens in terms of per cent of distribution of income as education increases?

b. Is the trend found in "a." the same for white families, as for non-white families? Explain.

10. Take the bricklayer, mechanic and bus driver in the chart on page 70, and locate their place on the chart on page 69. For each one you will have two locations, for example: Painter Elementary School Graduate and Painter High School Graduate.

11. Generally speaking, do the charts found on pages 66, 69, and 70 agree in terms of trends? Explain.

12. Describe the 12.5 million "poor" children in America in your own words by reviewing the chart on page 74.

13. The authors in the text agree that "it pays to get a good education" in American society. Why do they agree to this statement? Illustrate your answer with examples or other data.

14. How would you describe American society in terms of class and caste?

15. Compare the social systems of America, India and Japan.

Chapter 3. Prejudice and Ethnocentrism

1. Discuss the relationship between culture and prejudice. (Give examples.)

2a. What is ethnocentrism?

2b. How is ethnocentrism related to the concepts of in-group and out-group?

2c. Is ethnocentrism related to prejudice? If so, how? (Give examples)

2d. Does ethnocentrism differ from nationalism? (Illustrate your answer with examples.)

3a. How were the Japanese-Americans treated in the U.S.A. during the Second World War?

3b. Can you find any evidence regarding how German-Americans were treated? (Use history texts and other library resources.)

3c. What might account for the differences in treatment of Japanese and German-Americans in the U.S.A. during World War II?

4a. What is the difference between predilection and prejudice? (Illustrate with examples.)

4b. What is the difference between prejudice and discrimination? (Illustrate with examples.)

4c. What is the difference between discrimination and scapegoating? (Illustrate with examples.)

5. How does the current racial problem in the United States compare with the religious conflict in Northern Ireland? (Refer to library resources, news magazines, and similar material for additional information.)

6a. How does a textbook in American history treat the following topics:

a. persecution and plight of Mormons
b. treatment of Japanese in America during World War II
c. treatment of the American Negro since 1875.

6b. Select a European or world history text (check the library). Examine it in terms of whether or not it discusses any three instances of racial, religious or ethnic conflict which were discussed in this chapter.

6c. Discuss your findings in 6a and 6b. Do you feel the texts covered the topics sufficiently? Why?

7. Many Africans hoped for the day when the "colonialists" would leave and Africans would be equal citizens. To what extent have these hopes been realized?

8a. A government report in 1967, concluded that American society is split between whites and blacks and that the gap is increasing as hostility continues to mount. Do you agree with this conclusion? Why? (Give examples, refer to newspaper accounts, and recent publications.)

8b. If the report is correct, what can be done to reduce the hostility and modify discrimination and prejudice?

8c. What does it mean for a nation dedicated to the democratic ideal to have a racially split society?

GLOSSARY

Note to Teacher:

New vocabulary words are presented in sections of "Readings." These "Readings" are arbitrary points and the teacher need not require the class to follow the suggested pattern. Nevertheless, some teachers may find the suggested division useful. The composition of the student class, teacher's methods and strategies, may require different assignments.

Regardless of what approach is taken, the vocabulary words are presented in the order of appearance in the text.

Note to Student:

Wes stood looking at Mister Blair's book. York siad, "What for you bring it to me?"

"Don't know," Wes said, "Lookin' for knowledge. I can't read, so I find you."

"What your name, . . . ?"

"Wes Hunu. My real name is Hwesuhunnu. They calls me Wes."

"Well, listen here, Wes, what I got to tell you is what you got in mind ain't no way to go about it. First and all you got to study on the characters. You got to know 'em each and every one, then you got to study on how they goes together. That makes words. Ain't no use cartin' a book around, even in the right tongue, 'less you knows the characters and the words. You start with that, like I say, and maybe you can read. Then, 'course, maybe you can't. Ain't every man got the knack of it. That's the start and end of the matter."

From The African, by Harold Courlander (Bantam, 1969, p. 138).

It is imperative that you understand the vocabulary of the text in order to understand the content. The text differs from standard texts you may have had in the past. This difference lies in the fact that you are about to study an area which is complex and you are being exposed to the meat of the subject matter. Often times textbook writers try to simplify material. In the process they present over-generalizations and lose the meaning of what the subject is all about. This text has sacrificed simplicity for accuracy. The task may be difficult at first but as you move along in the unit you will begin feeling the pride of having increased both the knowledge of the subject at hand and your own vocabulary.

The following suggestions are offered to you in regard to using the glossary:

1. You might begin by reviewing the new vocabulary for each "Reading." Note that the vocabulary words are presented in the order of appearance in the text.

2. Then read the text portion, keeping this Manual open to the page on which the appropriate glossary appears.

3. Refer to the glossary whenever necessary.

4. Upon completion of the "Reading," review the major ideas. Where new words are part of these ideas, learn those words.

5. Practice using the new words as often as possible. Shortly the words will become part of your own vocabulary.

GLOSSARY

NOTE: Words are listed in the order in which they appear on a page.

Chapter 1. RACE

Page 1

race: Used in many senses, by some scientists to mean any population that differs from other populations in the frequency of one or more genes; by anthropologists to mean a population whose physical characteristics distinguish it from other groups; a man-made classification of mankind based upon physical and geographical differences.

anthropologist: A scientist who studies man and his culture.

irrational behavior: Actions which are unreasonable; behavior not based upon reason or tested by reason.

emotional behavior: Action based upon one's own impulses; an expression of feeling.

variation: Differences between or among things.

physical appearance: The way one looks based upon observable features or characteristics.

typological classification: A racial classification based upon physical types; typological classification of mankind into different races requires that one define different categories and determine what physical features will be used to assign people to a particular category; ideally each category contains a particular type of person.

geographical classification: A racial classification based upon the geographical distribution of populations. Since geography is a factor in population isolation, geographical classification frequently overlaps with typological classification.

differential treatment: Treating an individual or group in a way which is different from the treatment of others. Used here to indicate special and unequal treatment based upon one's membership in a minority group.

minority group: Any group of people who, because of cultural or physical characteristics, are given differential and unequal treatment. Note: The size of the group is not taken into account. The student should not confuse this definition of minority with the definition concerning numbers of individuals. For example, Negroes in South Africa outnumber whites; nevertheless, the Negroes make up the minority group.

systematic discrimination: Here discrimination is referred to as differential and unequal treatment; by systematic discrimination is meant discrimination which is regular and deliberate and is not merely occasional or the result of oversight.

immemorial: Extending beyond the reach of memory, record or tradition; indefinitely ancient.

cultural difference: The different way of life of groups of people and the different ways in which different groups adjust to their total settings.

Cheyenne: An Indian people of the western plains ranging between the Arkansas and Missouri Rivers.

unique: Being without a like or equal; single in kind.

self-perception: The way in which a group or individuals view themselves.

Yahgan: A nomadic hunting and fishing people of Tierra del Fuego, the southern-most part of South America.

Papuan: An ethnic group located in and around the southwestern part of New Guinea. One such group, the Kapauku Papuans refer to themselves as "Me" which means "the people."

in-group identity: By in-group is meant any group regarded from the point of view of one of its members, in contrast to outside groups, in-group is virtually the same as "we-group" in which its members share common attitudes of pride, loyalty and devotion to the group. In-group identity refers to association with an in-group.

outsiders or out-group: All people outside a group considered as the in-group or we-group.

primordial: That which was first existing or created; the original.

Yaqui: One of two major surviving tribes of the Cahita, a group of North American Indian tribes who lived on the northwestern coast of Mexico. Today the Yaqui are found in northwestern Mexico and southwestern United States.

dominant group: Ruling or controlling group; one which is predominant.

theological rationale: Theological means of or pertaining to knowledge of God and the supernatural; religious knowledge and belief. By rationale we mean an explanation or exposition of principles of some opinion; hypothesis, or the like. Thus, theological rationale means an explanation based upon religious beliefs.

flora: Plants or plant life.

fauna: Animals or animal life.

classification system: Taxonomy; category; a means of identification based on similarities and differences (alike and unlike).

Aristotle: 384-322 B.C. Greek philosopher, naturalist, regarded as the greatest scientific thinker of the ancient world.

Linnaeus: 1707-1778. Swedish botanist, founder of the binomial system of classification of plants and animals.

binomial: A species name consisting of two terms--the genus and the species.

stereotyping: The act of creating a mental picture held in common by members of a group and representing an oversimplified opinion, attitude, or judgment (as of a person, race, issue, or event). A stereotype refers to certain oversimple, fixed, and false conceptions which people hold about other people.

Comte de Buffon: 1707-1788. French naturalist. He was probably first to introduce the term race in his Natural History, volumes of which began to appear in 1749.

species: A basic category of biological classification for a single kind of animal or plant, all members of which have essentially the same characteristics and which are interfertile.

genetics: The study of heredity and variation among related living things.

Page 4

Immanuel Kant: 1724-1804. German philosopher. He divided mankind into four races.

genus: A large division of plants or animals having certain characteristics in common.

Johann Friedrich Blumenbach: 1742-1819. A German physiologist who was the founder of modern physical anthropology.

physical anthropologist: One who studies man as a member of the animal kingdom and the relationship between the nature of physical man and man's culture.

taxonomy: Classification, especially of animals and plants, according to their natural relationships; also the laws and principles of such classification.

"missing link": A theory that man evolved from the ape developed in the 19th century. According to this theory there existed a creature which was between man and ape; this animal was the link which would prove the theory. Thus, the search for the "missing link" became popular. Today, the "missing link" theory is considered nonsense by scientists.

anthropoid: Resembling man; used especially to include apes of the family Pongidae including gibbons, chimpanzee, orangutan and gorilla.

Page 5

hierarchical order: An arrangement of objects, elements or values in a graduated order; a graded series of class levels.

fossil man: Prehistoric man known only from skeletal remains which have become fossilized; that is, deposited during earlier periods of the earth's history in rocks and sediments.

Gregor Mendel: 1822-1884. Peasant boy, priest, and finally abbot of an Augustinian monastery at Brunn in Germany; he devised and carried out experiments which contributed to the knowledge of the physiological process of heredity, known as Mendelism. Although he published his findings in 1866, scientists did not begin taking an interest in Mendel's work until 1900 when his work was rediscovered.

phenotype: The apparent characteristics of a living thing; the result of joint action of environment and genetic constitution.

breeding population: All persons within a group that interbreeds.

genetic equilibrium: Maintenance or balance of genetic characteristics among a particular racial stock.

genetic drift: Random changes of genes in a population due to chance preservation or extinction of particular genes.

mutation: A change in the structure of a gene resulting in a transmissable hereditary modification in the expression of a trait.

gene frequency: The percentage of occurrence of a specified gene in the chromosomes of a population.

Karl Landsteiner: 1869-1943. Austrian-born, U.S. scientist; won 1930 Nobel Prize in medicine for discovering that there are four main types of blood and about thirty subtypes. This discovery made bood transfusions safe and advantageous.

Page 6

biochemical: Characterized by, produced by, or involving chemical reactions in living organisms.

abnormal hemoglobins: Hemoglobin is the red respiratory protein coating red blood cells, serving to carry oxygen to and carbon dioxide from the cells of the body. Abnormal hemoglobins contain certain characteristics which may result in various illnesses; however, in some cases abnormal hemoglobins may benefit an individual under certain conditions.

haptaglobins: A carbohydrate that can combine with and have a protective action toward hemoglobins.

antigen: A substance which produces an antibody, i.e., proteins, when entering the body.

statistical methods: Methods or ways of dealing with samples of a larger group of population in order to determine certain characteristics about the entire population.

Homo sapiens: The biological name of modern man in the binomial classificatory system.

interfertile: Capable of interbreeding.

polytypic: Having several or many types or representatives, e.g., man.

biogeographic realm (not biographic): Different geographic areas can be defined in terms of plant and animal life common to the particular area (biogeography is the study of the geographical distribution of plants and animals).

ecological environment: Living things and the pattern of relationship between living things and their immediate surroundings (environment).

morphological: Concerned with form or structure.

organism: Any living thing.

composite race: A man-made classification for those individuals or groups who have varying combinations of the characteristics of various other racial groups.

hybridization: The act of producing a cross-bred animal or plant. Human hybrids include the first generation offspring of parents belonging to different racial stocks.

Page 7

nomenclature: A set of names used in a science, discipline or art and adopted by the people in the particular field; the terms (terminology) used in a given area of study.

genotype: The genetic constitution, determined by the number, types and arrangement of genes. Note: The outcome of interaction between genotype and environment results in phonotype which can be seen.

physiological traits. Physical characteristics.

Page 9

hereditability: Capable of transmitting physical characteristics of parents to their offspring.

multiple criteria: Multiple means more than one. Criteria means standards of judging. Thus, multiple criteria means more than one standard of judging.

representative sampling: A sample of a larger group. Thus, sample is selected at random which makes the sample a miniature of the larger population in terms of certain characteristics.

cranial vault: The brain case.

cephalic index: A number obtained by dividing the maximum breadth of the cranium (that part of the skull enclosing the brain) by its maximum length and multiplying by one hundred.

cranium: The part of the skull enclosing the brain; brainspan.

supraorbital ridge: The brow ridge above the eye.

foramen magnum: The opening in the base of the skull through which the spinal cord passes to become the medulla oblongata.

facial index: Ratio of the Breadth of the face to its length, usually expressed in hundredths of the latter.

malar bone: The bone of the cheek.

nasal index: The ratio of the greatest breadth of the anterior opening of the nasal cavities in the skull to the height from the projection below to the middle point of the suture of the bones above.

septum: A wall separating two cavities; refers in this case to the wall which divides the nose into two nostrils.

Page 10

protrusion: Projection; in this case the projection of the lip.

inversion: Condition of being turned inward; in this case referring to the lip.

helix: The incurved rim of the external ear.

pigmentation: Coloration with, or deposition of, pigment which is any of various coloring matters in animals and plants especially in cells or tissues.

melanin: Any of the various dark pigments of animal origin. Melanin is found in both light and dark skinned people. Darker skinned races simply have more melanin than light skinned races.

diego factor: A blood group system. Some individuals are Diego positive and others are Diego negative. Diego positive individuals are found among Amerinds and Asiatics. It appears to be absent among Europeans and Africans and is not found in Australia, Micronesia, or among Eskimos.

rhesus factor: A blood group system. Individuals are either Rh-positive or Rh-negative. Rh-negative individuals are relatively rare, or absent in most of the world, but approximately 15% of Europeans are Rh-negative. If a woman is Rh-negative and her husband is Rh-positive, there is a chance that their child will be Rh-positive. If this happens, the mother's blood destroys the red blood cells of the baby while still in the mother. Without blood transfusions this would cause death 75% of the time. Therefore, it is most safe for mates to be the same rhesus factor or if the father is Rh-negative and the mother is Rh-positive. However, proper medical treatment can avoid problems. Obviously, Rh-negative blood is not "bad blood" as some people believed. Instead, the situation is relative.

micro-race: A racial group of limited size defined geographically (small local race).

Page 11

endogamy: Marriage within the tribe, caste, or social group; inbreeding.

Page 14

gene pool: The genes present in a given population.

continuum: That which is continuous and uninterrupted.

Page 17

Euroamerican: Common to both Europe and America; a combination of different European origins found in America.

Euroafrican: Being of European and African descent.

Page 18

Amerind: An individual of one of the native peoples of America; an American Indian; an Eskimo.

ladino: A westernized Spanish-speaking Latin American who is of both Spanish (or Portuguese) and American Indian descent.

cholo: One of mixed Spanish and Indian ancestry.

mestizo: A person of Spanish and American Indian ancestry.

Afroamerind: Used here to indicate one of African Negro and American Indian ancestry.

Euroamerind: One of European and American Indian ancestry.

gene flow: Relating to the spread of genes from one population to another.

Page 20

stock: A strain, race, or group of genetically closely related individuals.

natural selection: The tendency of organisms with certain traits to make better adaptations to their environment and leave a larger number of offspring than other organisms without those traits.

fortuitous mutation: A chance or accidental change in the structure of a gene which results in a hereditary modification in the expression of a trait.

deoxyribonucleic acid: Commonly referred to as DNA; the principle element or part of a gene, believed to be the material of heredity

itself. DNA carries the master plan or code containing the information that determines developmental sequence of a living organism.

random modification: Changes which occur by chance.

millennia: The plural of millennium which refers to a period of 1,000 years. Thus, millennia means 1,000-year periods.

transmission of cultural achievements: Refers to those things which a person learns as a member of a particular culture.

transmission of genetic endowment: Obtaining certain capabilities by heredity.

mobility: Movement from one place to another; movable.

equilibrium: A state of balance between opposing forces or actions; a static equilibrium occurs when opposing forces are stationery; dynamic equilibrium occurs when opposing forces are in motion and are equal.

Page 22

taxonomic criterion: A set of standards by which classification is made.

Page 23

anatomical trait: A physical characteristic of an organism.

Page 24

biogenetic: That which is produced by the development of life by already existing life.

Page 26

Achaeans: A people of uncertain origin who are believed to have been the original Greek-speaking people.

Dorians: A cultural group in ancient Greece; named for Dorus, mythical son of Helen of Troy. These people are credited with founding the kingdom of Sparta.

Mycenaean Greece: Early culture of ancient Greece. The Mycenaean capital was Mycenae. In 1100 B. C., the capital was burned in the Dorian invasion; following this destruction the Dorians became the dominant group.

inherently: By nature; naturally.

egocentric: Self-centered.

Page 27

serfdom: The state, condition or fact of being a serf (one bound to the soil).

chattel slavery: Ownership of another human being in such a manner that the slave is considered nothing more than a piece of property.

depopulation: Reduction in the number of people.

legacy: Something received from the past.

racist: One who views other racial groups with contempt or accepts the notion that there are superior and inferior races.

innate: Inborn, natural; not acquired from experience. (innately--adverb)

asiento: A contract or agreement between Spain and another nation or company or individual for furnishing Negro slaves for the Spanish colonies in America. (In the Peace of Utrecht--1713--England gained large colonial and commercial advantages, including rights to the slave trade (asiento) in the Spanish colonies.)

Social Darwinism: A popular misconception of the late 19th and early 20th centuries that superior cultures of civilizations exist and are superior due to the inherent superiority of the ethnic or racial group; this belief in no way agrees with Darwin's theory. It is an example of the misuse and misunderstanding of Darwin's works.

Page 28

postulate: To assume or claim as true, real, existent, or necessary.

Herbert Spencer: 1820-1903. English social scientist who applied

Darwin's theories of biological evolution and natural selection to social groups including nations and races. He did not realize that biological laws cannot be applied to social situations.

primitive race: The false notion that certain racial stocks are less highly developed than others. This misconception was reinforced by Social Darwinism and the confusion of cultural and biological nomenclature.

Plessy v. Ferguson: This was a Supreme Court case which established the legal doctrine of "separate but equal." The Supreme Court denied that Jim Crow legislation was "unfriendly" to the Negro or implied his "inferiority in civil society." The court ruled that the constitution did not require that the Negro have social equality but only political equality.

Page 29

eugenics: The science which deals with influences that improve inborn or hereditary qualities or a race or breed, especially of the human race.

apex: The top, tip, or point of anything; the summit.

hierarchy: An arrangement from top to bottom.

fossil: As used here refers to fossil man and apes which are prehistoric skeletal remains which have been fossilized; that is, deposited during earlier periods of the earth's history in rocks and sediments.

linear evolution: An outmoded evolutionary explanation based on the premise that hominid (man) evolution was a continuation of pongid (ape) evolution.

Page 30

causal explanation: An attempt to explain an occurrence by understanding the causes which made the occurrence take place.

linear social evolution: An outmoded explanation of social change, analogous to linear biological evolution, which postulated that the development of civilization evolved through a fixed sequence of lower to higher stages.

denigrative term: A term which belittles maliciously; one which defames.

proselytize: To convert.

auspices: Guidance.

ethnocentrism: A strong positive feeling toward one's own group and hate or contempt for other groups.

Page 31

alleviate: To lighten, lessen, relieve.

perpetuate: To make everlasting; to give continual existence to.

Page 32

pseudo-science: A false science; to give the false appearance of being scientific.

white supremacy: Belief that the white or Caucasian race is superior to all other racial groups; in action it is an attempt to maintain or create white dominance over other racial groups; a form of racism.

Page 33

genetic homogeneity: Being genetically alike or similar.

Page 34

culture-free test: A test which is able to measure a child's innate ability regardless of the culture in which the child lives. Such a test does not exist.

intelligence test: Any psychological test designed to determine the relative mental capacity of the persons examined. Such tests are ofter called I.Q. tests, tend to measure past learning rather than innate ability. Furthermore, it is important to note that such tests are largely tests of verbal fluency.

mental retardation: Mental slowness of development or progress.

Chapter 2. SOCIAL CLASS AND CASTE

Page 41

society: A group of people living and working together in pursuit of several of their major interests which usually include self-maintenance and self-perpetuation.

status: Relative position, rank or standing.

Page 42

social status: The position of an individual in a social group.

ascribed status: The social status or rank an individual is assigned by society. This is almost always the status a person receives at birth and is identical to the status of his parents.

achieved status: The social status a person obtains due to his actions or behavior; status an individual gains.

closed class society: A caste society; a society that does not allow for social mobility.

caste societies: Societies in which class membership is fixed. A society with a rigid class system that does not allow a person to move into another class.

classless society: A society which does not have social classes.

Page 43

social mobility: Upward movement from a lower social class to a higher social class.

Protestant ethic: Certain attitudes or ideas which were emphasized following the Protestant Reformation; such as those stressing individualism, the idea that wealth be accumulated and used to gain greater wealth, and that hard work eventually leads to success. (According to some economists and historians, the Protestant ethic was a necessary condition or cause for the rise of capitalism.)

Karl Marx: 1818-1883. The "father of communism;" author of Das Kapital.

Page 44

Czarist: Used here to refer to those persons associated with the czar, the ruling monarch of Russia before the 1917 revolution. The czarist elite including governing officials, advisors, friends, and relatives of the czar.

Page 45

Gopalpur: A region in India, southwest of Bombay.

Page 46

Chinook Indians: An American Indian people located in the northwest along the Columbia River. In 1805, they numbered 16,000 but by 1960 their population was approximately 250.

potlatch: A ceremony, characteristic of the Indians of the northern Pacific coast of North America, in which property is lavishly given away or destroyed in order to acquire or maintain social status.

Ibo: An ethnic group in southeastern Nigeria recently involved in a civil war with the Nigerian government as the secessionist state of Biafra, which collapsed in mid-January 1970.

Page 47

material goods: Goods produced by man such as furniture, clothing, certain foods, leather products, etc., as opposed to nonmaterial goods such as services (performance in an opera, or a shoeshine).

status symbols: Objects which show, reflect or symbolize social status; in ancient Rome the aristocracy wore a purple fringe on their togas to show their superior rank in society.

folk culture: Used in this text to refer to a relatively small isolated tribal society (often without a written language), characterized as uniform in traditions, closely held together by religious beliefs

and endogamous marriage patterns, with an undifferentiated subsistence economy.

Page 48

Arunta: Folk culture in Australia.

Yahgan: Folk culture in Tierra del Fuego, off the southern tip of South America.

Page 49

Rwalla: Arab bedouin folk culture located in the desert area in northern Saudi Arabia and in Jordan.

Page 50

client relationship: A relationship between groups which usually connotes differences in status, an inferior status group providing goods and services to a superior status group in return for protection or the privilege of using land.

bedouin: A nomadic Arab of the Arabian, Syrian or North African desert.

hazar: Rwalla arabic term which refers to people who live in permanent dwellings.

Arab: An Arab word which literally means tent dweller or nomad; now used generally to apply to speakers of this Semitic language in the Middle East and North Africa.

khuwa: A tax which a weaker tribe paid to a more powerful tribe for protection.

kusara: persons (often strangers) who visit a Rwalla tribe for a length of time. This Rwalla term means neighbors.

Page 51

reciprocal: Shared, felt, or shown by both sides; mutually corresponding.

sub-society: A smaller society within a larger social system or society.

Sulubba: Name of an outcaste group in Rwalla folk culture.

outcaste social status: Being outside the normal social system. Usually not considered part of the larger society in the eyes of other members.

tribute: A payment, tax, service, or gift.

Page 52

Somali: Ethnic group primarily located in Somaliland (Somalia) in East Africa.

self-sufficient: Able to provide for one's own needs.

Midgaans, Tumaals, Yibirs: These are three caste-like groups in Somalian society; all are below the Somali in social status and each group is defined in terms of its occupation.

bondsman (also bondman). A slave or a serf. One who is bound to serve or work under another without wages.

Rwanda: Folk culture located in the Republic of the Congo in Africa.

Tutsi, Hutu, Twa: Three castes of the Rwanda society.

elite: A socially superior or powerful group.

Page 53

Tahitians of Polynesia: An ethnic group in Polynesia which is a group of islands in the Central and South Pacific.

Page 54

Brahmin: A member of the highest caste in the Hindu religion; in India a priestly caste (spelling of the term may vary).

Kshatriyas: In the Hindu caste system, these individuals were just below Brahmans or Brahmins; their duties were military and governmental. Today they are upper class in terms of social status, as are Brahmins.

Vaishyas: Indian Hindu caste composed of farmers and merchants; this caste is considered an upper or high status caste in modern India. (Also spelled Vaisya.)

Sudras: Hindu caste composed of servants; a lower caste. (Also spelled Shudra.)

untouchable: A person of a very low caste in the Hindu religion who is forbidden to come into contact with persons of higher castes because it is believed that the untouchable will cause pollution or impurity. (Incidentally, all non-Hindus are considered untouchables.)

pollution: Religious impurity in the Hindu belief system or religion; untouchables (members of very low castes) are the source of pollution. If a member of an upper caste is "polluted," he rids himself of the pollution through ritual cleansing.

Page 55

Purada Vannan: An untouchable caste in India. These people are among the lowest of the low castes.

inflexible: Unyielding; unable to change; not capable of being bent; rigid.

Christian Reddis: An upper caste Hindu group which has converted to Christianity.

Page 56

Samurai: In feudal Japan, a military aristocracy, having power of life and death over commoners. Feudalism in Japan was officially abolished in 1871.

Eta: An outcaste Japanese minority group.

Page 57

feudal system (feudalism): A social system prevailing in Europe from the 9th to about 15th centuries, having as its basis the relation of lord and vassal with all land held in fee; that is, on condition of service.

[93]

serf: A person in a feudal system who was bound to a tract of land and owed duties and services to whomever held the land in fee. A serf was not the holder of the fief, as a slave was the property of an owner; lord and serf had reciprocal obligations to each other.

serfdom: State or condition of being a serf.

affluence: An abundant supply; i.e., abundance of wealth or property.

Page 58

life style: The way in which one lives; a person's manner or style of living.

Hasidic Jewish community: A sect of pious Jews. The Hasidic sect was founded about 200 A. D. In 1750, in Poland, the sect was revived. Hasidic Jews live according to strict rituals of Judaism.

lineage: Used here to refer to one's ancestors--parents, grandparents, etc.

upper class, middle class, lower class: These are the three general social classes in American society; the terms apply to other societies as well. The upper class consists of those with very high status; the middle class refers to persons of moderate status and the lower class consists of persons of lower social status.

Page 59

illusory: Producing an interpretation or perception not based on reality.

semi-skilled: Having less training than a skilled laborer, but more training than an unskilled laborer.

unskilled: One who is untrained in a craft or trade.

Page 64

The Establishment, THE SYSTEM: Terms frequently used in a derogatory sense to refer to middle class domination of social, political and economic institutions.

minority: A group of people who, because of their physical or cultural

characteristics, are singled out from others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment and therefore regard themselves as the objects of collective discrimination. (Definition taken from Lewis Wirth, social psychologist.)

socio-economic status: A person's social status--which reflects the strong influence of the individual's wealth and occupational status.

relative deprivation: A feeling of being deprived which occurs when an individual compares his gains with others whose gains have been greater.

variable: A characteristic or trait which can take on different values.

value judgment: A decision or judgment which is made by a person basing his decision on his own values.

Page 65

occupational status: A person's status in terms of his occupation; some occupations have high prestige such as physicians, lawyers, judges; other occupations are of lesser prestige, such as garbage collector, taxi driver, etc. High prestige occupations offer high occupational status; low prestige occupations offer low occupational status.

job discrimination: Employment based on criteria irrelevant to job performance, such as race, religion, or sex.

Page 68

old aristocracy: Persons whose membership in the upper class is based on descent; the lineage depth may vary with the age of the community.

new aristocracy: The new wealthy upper class sometimes more wealthy than those of the old aristocracy, but socially below the old aristocracy since they do not have the "traditional family name."

restricted neighborhoods: A neighborhood which does not allow members of other racial, ethnic, or religious groups; this can be a subdivision or a street.

Page 71

life chances: The physical and cultural opportunities of a person to obtain such things as a long life, education, wealth, and other values.

Page 72

mortality rate: Death rate; number of deaths.

life expectancy: The average years a person is expected to live.

Page 78

therapist: One skilled in the treatment of diseases, physical handicaps or injuries, and mental problems.

cultural pocket: The area in which a sub-culture lives; i.e., in a large American city one might visit "Chinatown," "Germantown," or "Irish Patch."

Page 81

public defenders: Lawyers usually appointed by the court to defend persons who cannot afford to hire their own lawyer. Actually, public defenders are available to anyone regardless of wealth; however, people who can afford to hire their own lawyer do so most of the time. Public defenders are paid the same regardless if they win or lose a case.

Page 82

denomination: A religious group.

Page 83

power elite: A relatively small group of individuals who are most influential in making economic and political decisions in the society.

Page 88

socially immobile: Unable to move up the social ladder; incapable of moving from a lower to a higher class.

racial discrimination: Overt acts of prejudice which favor a particular racial group over persons belonging to another racial group; unequal treatment of a minority racial group.

segregation: Separation; to isolate from the general population.

de jure: Having a legal basis; being recognized by law.

de facto: Existing in fact but not being approved by law; actually, in reality.

sub-culture: A smaller culture within a larger, more general culture.

Page 89

egalitarian: Asserting or promoting the view that men are equal; especially politically or socially.

emasculate: To weaken, to take away masculine vigor or spirit.

The Civil Rights Cases (1883): A number of Negro citizens had been denied by the operators of hotels, theaters, and railway companies the full enjoyment of their facilities. Viewing this as discrimination and therefore contrary to the Fourteenth Amendment, certain Negro citizens brought court action. The cases went to the Supreme Court. The court voted 8 to 1 that the Fourteenth Amendment did NOT mean that a private citizen could not discriminate, but only protected individuals from discriminatory state action.

Plessy v. Ferguson: See page 89.

Jim Crow: Legal or customary practices which specifically discriminated against the Negro, especially in the south. Jim Crow was a stereotype Negro in a 19th century song-dance act.

Thirteenth Amendment: This amendment prohibited slavery.

The Fourteenth Amendment is actually being referred to here. This amendment guaranteed Negroes U.S. citizenship; furthermore, the amendment stated that, "No state shall make or

enforce any law which abridge the privileges . . . or citizens . . . nor deny to any person . . . equal protection of the law."

reconstruction period: The era (1865-1877) in United States history in which seceding southern states were reestablished in the Union.

polarizing: Separating to extreme and opposite ends.

ameliorate: To improve or change for the better.

Chapter 3. PREJUDICE AND ETHNOCENTRISM

Page 91 .

dissension: Disagreement in opinion; discord.

attitude: A learned pattern of behavior or a way of reacting either positively (in favor of) or negatively (against or opposed to) toward persons, places or things.

prejudice: Used here, prejudice is defined as a strong dislike or hatred based upon a fixed overgeneralization or false generalization. Prejudice may be a feeling or attitude, or it may be expressed by one's actions. It may be directed against a group as a whole or an individual because he is a member of that group.

overgeneralization: A generalization is the act or process of obtaining a general principle from particulars. Often such a principle is referred to as a generalization. When this generalization is too broad, it is an overgeneralization.

Page 93

social psychologist: An individual who studies the manner in which the personality, attitudes, and motivations of the individual influence and are influenced by the structure, dynamics, and behavior of the social groups with which he interacts.

sociologist: A social scientist who studies the way people behave as a member of a group or society.

Page 94

gene: A factor concerned with the transmission and development or determination of hereditary characters; an element of the germ plasm, regarded as a small part of a chromosome.

ethnocentrism: A strong, positive feeling toward one's own group and hate or contempt for other groups.

Page 95

nationalism: Any principle or doctrine which recognizes the nationality--or in practice the nation--as the basis for group action.

Page 96

folkway: A mode of thinking, feeling, or acting common to a people or to a social group.

epithet: An uncomplimentary name or nickname, or a contemptuous term, used invectively or harshly.

Chauvinism: An extreme form of patriotism.

jingoism: An extreme form of patriotism.

Adlai Stevenson: 1900-1965. United States statesman. Democratic candidate for president in 1952 and 1956. He was governor of Illinois and U.S. representative to the United Nations, with cabinet rank and title of Ambassador.

G. W. Russell: 1867-1935. Irish poet.

Page 97

allegiance: Devotion or loyalty to that which one feels is entitled to obedience or service and respect.

super-patriotism: Patriotism is the love for one's own country. By super-patriotism we mean that along with the love of one's own country goes a contempt for other countries.

scapegoating: An occurrence wherein some of the aggressive energies of a person or a group are focused upon another individual, group or object; the amount of aggression and blame is either partly or completely uncalled for.

derogate: To take away from so as to cause injury or impairment.

pathological: Persistently morbid or unnatural behavior not otherwise defined.

self-enhancement: An attempt of an individual to convince himself of his own value and strength.

personification: Representation of a thing or abstraction as a person or by the human form.

Page 99

analogous: Resembling something else; corresponding in some respects to something else.

concentration camp: A detention camp in which prisoners of war, political prisoners, foreign nationals, refugees and the like, are confined.

insinuation: Something which has been hinted indirectly, suggested, or implied.

degradation: Act or process of degrading; debasement; disgrace.

reimbursement: That which has been paid back.

retrospect: A looking back on things past.

subversion: Act of subverting or overthrowing.

espionage: The practice of spying on others or the employment of spies.

Page 100

exacerbate: To render more violent or bitter; to irritate.

latent prejudice: Prejudice which is not visible or apparent. It may be hidden or dormant.

predilection: The simple preference of an individual for one's culture, skin color, or language as opposed to another. Predilections are inevitable and natural.

Page 101

phenomena: Any observable facts or events.

postulate: To demand, require, clain (v); proposition, premise (n).

normative: Relating to or establishing a norm (a standard pattern of behavior).

norm: Standard pattern of behavior.

Gunnar Myrdal: Author of An American Dilemma; Swedish economist and public official noted for his study of the Negro in the United States.

An American Dilemma: Title of a book and term used to describe the conflict between American democratic values and discriminatory behavior. The author of An American Dilemma is Gunnar Myrdal.

schizoid personality: A person who has lost contact with reality; characterized by a disintegration of personality.

Page 102

overt act: An act which can be seen, open to view, apparent, public.

infamous: Terrible, scandalous.

poll tax: A tax of so much per head, levied usually on every male person over a given age; formerly required as a prerequisite to vote in some states, now prohibited in federal elections by Amendment 24 to the Constitution of the United States.

literacy test: A reading test that had to be passed before being allowed to vote.

disenfranchise: To deprive a citizen, otherwise eligible, of the right to vote.

Fifteenth Amendment: Constitutional Amendment which stated that the rights of citizens to vote could not be denied by the federal government or any state "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." (adopted 1870).

Page 103

de facto segregation: Segregation which is not legally established or recognized by law.

quota system: The number of immigrants from any one country allowed by the immigration law to enter the United States during a year.

Page 104

Gordon W. Allport: 1897-1967. American psychologist and educator. Author of the book, The Nature of Prejudice.

anxiety: Painful uneasiness of mind over an anticipated ill. This is a vague anticipation of danger or fear.

deprivation: State of being deprived of having certain opportunities or advantages, either in terms of one's own aspirations or social norms.

guilt evasion: Trying to escape from one's own guilt. These guilt feelings may be relieved by blaming others for one's own sins.

frustration: The feeling one gets when he is prevented from attaining a purpose. There is a feeling of defeat.

conformity: Similarity, agreement, or identity in form, character, or manner.

tabloid thinking: Simplification of issues. This provides far less energy if we blame a group or class of people rather than the complex course of social and historical forces.

anti-locution: Speaking against individuals or groups in such a way as to degrade them. A form of verbal aggression which involves spreading rumors, telling negative jokes, making unjust accusations, teasing, and threatening. A word coined from anti, against, and locution, speak.

Page 105

compulsive scapegoater: A type of person who has prejudice as the mainspring of his mental life. Scapegoating is a compulsive activity for him. He has a pathologically warped mind and is obsessed by delusions of persecution.

Page 106

thwarted scapegoater. This is a person who is frustrated in some phase of his life. He resorts to aggressive scapegoating to work out his fears and frustrations. He is unable to cope with his problems in a realistic manner. He seems to crave the excitement of hate, accusation, of witch hunting, to offset the dullness and deprivation in his life.

conforming scapegoater: This person is merely thoughtless and joins the crowd when he is exposed to its ways. Many individuals who would not scapegoat by themselves will do so if it is expected by the group. This type of scapegoater prefers not to seem to be opposing his own group.

calculating scapegoater: This type of scapegoater is rather rare. He uses the fears, anxieties, and frustrations of the other types of scapegoaters to his own advantage. It is not always easy to tell whether a given ringleader is of the compulsive or calculating type.

Page 108

American Civil Liberties Union. An organization which takes an active role in defending people when the Union officials have reason to believe that their constitutional rights may be threatened or have been violated.

NAACP: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. A U.S. interracial organization founded in 1909 to combat racism, stamp out lynching, eliminate racial discrimination and segregation, and to guarantee Negroes their constitutional rights.

Martin Luther King: 1929-1968. Clergyman and civil rights leader. Received the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize. King became the most famous leader of the nonviolent civil rights movement that led to passage of the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965. Assassinated in 1968.

Page 109

pathos: That quality which awakens feelings of pity, sympathy, and tender sorrow.

legacy: Something coming from an ancestor, predecessor, or earlier period of time.

Human Rights Commission: State committees, departments, or agencies, established to investigate complaints of racial, religious, or ethnic discrimination, and to insure that laws prohibiting discrimination are not violated.

Page 112

vicious cycle of discrimination: A social process by which prejudiced attitudes and beliefs lead to discrimination; the discrimination in turn reinforces or confirms the original prejudiced attitudes and beliefs.

Pagan: An irreligious person; a heathen; originally used to indicate an unconverted member of the Roman empire who adhered to their original beliefs and did not accept Christianity.

Page 113

Sikhs: An Indian religious community in the Punjab differing from the Hindus in various practices. The religion was founded by Nanak (1469-1539) who intended the religion to be monotheistic and to combine Hindu and Moslem beliefs.

Page 115

Maoism: The political theories and philosophy of Chinese Communist leader, Mao Tse-Tung.

disdain: A feeling of contempt and aversion for that which is regarded as beneath one; scorn.

inertia: A property of matter which remains at rest or in uniform motion in the same straight line or direction; indisposition to motion, exertion or change; inertness.

impunity: Exemption or freedom from punishment, harm, or loss.

PKI: Indonesian Communist Party.

Tjina: The Indonesian name for Chinese, often used derogatorily in the sense of "Chink."

ramification: A branch or offshoot; also the resulting branched structure or consequences of an act or belief.

Page 117

rupiah: Indonesian monetary unit (money).

Page 118

archipelado: A group of islands.

Page 119

enclave: A territory enclosed within a foreign territory.

opt: To make a choice.

Africanization: The process of returning control of African territories to Negro Africans.

cross: Christian religious symbol.

crescent: Muslim religious symbol.

star [of David]: Jewish religious symbol.

Islam: The religion of Muslims (also spelled Moslems); literally, Islam means submission (to the will of al "Lah, the God).
Note: Islam is the name of the religion; Muslim or Moslem is a person who is a member of the Islamic faith.

sectarian: Of or relating to religious beliefs.

heresy: A religious opinion which is opposed to the authorized beliefs of a church.

schism: Formal division or separation in a religious body, e.g., religious divisions Sunni and Shia.

Shia: A branch of the Islamic religion; the national religion of Persia (today, Iran) since 1500.

Sunni: A branch of the Islamic religion; the other major branch is Shia.

holocaust: A complete or thorough destruction, especially by fire, as of large numbers of human beings.

exterminate: To destroy utterly; to get rid of completely, to annihilate.

Buchenwald: One of many Nazi concentration camps located north of Weimar, a town of East Germany. It was built in 1933, and was one of the largest concentration camps. 56,000 persons were put to death at Buchenwald during the period of Nazi Germany.

neo-Nazism: Literally, new Nazism; the political beliefs, attitudes, and activities which identify with, and agree with, the Nazi doctrine of the 1930's and 1940's. Post-World War II Nazism.

Page 120

intransigence: Refusing to change; not open to compromise, refusing to budge from one's own position.

Tommies: British soldiers. Term comes from the name Thomas Atkins, a ficticious name used as a model in official blank forms for private soldiers, like John Doe in America.

enmity: Ill will or hostility.

demagogue: A person who, as a leader, seeks to make capital of social discontent and gain political influence.

irrationality: Being unreasonable; not based on reason or tested by reason.

anti-Semitism: Being opposed to, having hatred toward, or acting out against people of the Jewish faith because they are Jews.

hellenization: A process of accepting Greek culture (ancient Greece) in terms of language, dress, manners and world outlook.

Page 121

genocide: The systematic killing of an entire group of people or the attempt to accomplish this type of mass murder.

Page 122

Mormon: A popular term for members of the Mormon faith, officially the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints; the narrator and prophet of the Book of Mormon published by Joseph Smith in 1830.

Book of Mormon: A holy scripture among Mormons; this book is used in addition to the Bible; it is not a substitute for the Bible.

Page 123

trek: A migration, especially of a group in wagons, to a new home.

Page 125

demagoguery: The actions of a demagogue. A demagogue is a speaker who seeks to make capital gain of social discontent and gain political influence.

bugbear: An imaginary goblin or specter used to excite needless fear, as in children; now, any object of dread.

Page 126

coptic clergy: The clergy of the Egyptian Christian Church.

Page 128

pogrom: An organized massacre and looting of helpless people.

Page 129

"Vive la Quebec libre": "Long live a free Quebec." (The attitude which de Gaulle seemed to express was, "Long live an independent Quebec.")

Page 133

stultify: To frustrate or reduce to futility.

abusive: Harsh and unfair, as abusive language.

impute: Ascribe, credit, charge with.

Page 134

immutable: Unchangeable, fixed.

stratagems: Tricks or means for deceiving people.

anti-Semitism: Refers to prejudiced attitudes, discrimination or scapegoating directed against Jews.

scapegoat: The victim of scapegoating which is a phenomenon wherein some of the aggressive energies of a person or a group are focused upon another individual, group or object (these being the scapegoats); the amount of aggression and blame being partly or wholly unwarranted. (Allport, 1948)

Page 135

fallacy: A false idea; the liability to err.

settler society: A society in which people live in permanent dwellings and remain in the same place over a long period of time.

ghetto: A quarter of a city in which members of racial, religious, or ethnic groups are segregated; thereby they are forced to live outside the mainstream of the society.

Page 136

curricula: The subjects offered to or required of students in school.

invidious: Tending to excite ill will or envy; likely to give offense; unjust unjustly discriminating.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights: A document drawn up and approved by the United Nations in 1948. This document lists 30 articles covering both civil and political rights and also economic, social and cultural rights. The document is directed toward all nations and their peoples.